A Contrastive Grammar of Tamil and Sinhala

Noun Phrase

M. A. Nuhman

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Kelliwatta
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Dedicated to

Professor **N. Kumaraswami Raja**

my respected teacher and beloved friend

who mysteriously disappeared

on 26th of July 1989

without any trace

Preface

This book is based on my Ph.D. dissertation, *A Contrastive Study of the Structure of the Noun Phrase in Tamil and Sinhala*, submitted to the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, India in 1988. This is the first and so far the only attempt to study the syntax of Tamil and Sinhala utilizing the principles of Contrastive Linguistics and the Transformational model.

Tamil and Sinhala are the national and official languages of Sri Lanka, where the two language communities have been dragged into armed conflict on the basis of their linguistic and ethnic divisions and are presently struggling to re-establish communal harmony and peace. It is a well-known fact that language is a medium of communication and a major tool for social integration. It is also a fact that language can be used as a tool for social disintegration and this, too, is the post-colonial experience of the ethnic communities in Sri Lanka.

It is widely believed today that both languages can be and should be used to create mutual understanding and harmony among these communities. Hence, teaching Tamil and Sinhala as second languages to the non-native speakers of the other language community has gained a prominent place in the national agenda for ethnic harmony. At present several government and non-government institutions are engaged in teaching Tamil and Sinhala as second languages in this country and there is a growing demand for this service.

It may be observed that, most of the teaching materials that are used at present to teach Tamil and Sinhala as second languages are not based on modern linguistic principles and systematic contrastive studies of these languages. Hence, the teaching and learning of these languages are taking place in a haphazard manner and progress is very slow.

In this regard, I hope, this book will be helpful to those who teach these languages and prepare teaching materials for the purpose of understanding the structural similarities and differences between these two languages. It will also help them gain new insight into their linguistic affinities.

The other important domain in which this kind of study will greatly be useful is the field of translation. In Sri Lanka the need for translation between Tamil and Sinhala is widely recognized and there is a growing demand for translation between these two languages for official, educational, commercial, political and cultural transactions. However, it is extremely difficult to find good translators to fulfill this demand because of the lack of competent bilinguals who have adequate training in translation techniques and sufficient knowledge of the contrastive grammar of Tamil and Sinhala. One of the main problems in translation is to find structural equivalences in the source and target languages, and contrastive analysis is the useful tool for finding such equivalences. I hope, therefore, that this study will also be helpful to those who are engaged in translation between Tamil and Sinhala.

This study is mostly based on the standard theory of Transformational Grammar formulated by Noam Chomsky in 1965 and developed thereafter by Chomsky himself and a number of other eminent linguists. However, during the past twenty years the theoretical model itself has drastically changed. Although, the theoretical model used in this work is an earlier one and almost outdated, the data, the structural analysis and the findings are still valuable and relevant for the practical purposes of applied linguistics. I hope this book can be a starting point for further contrastive studies of Tamil and Sinhala syntax.

M. A. NUHMAN

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I am also thankful to E. Annamalai, K.Rangan, Madra Siromani Fernando, Daya Menike Wickramasinghe, B.S.S.A Wickramasuriya and Hema Weerakoon who, when I requested them, readily provided their valuable theses on Tamil or Sinhala syntax, from which I got many useful insights.

The authorities of the University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka gave me three years of study leave to do this research work at the CAS in Linguistics, Annamalai University, while the authorities of Annamalai University granted me a studentship and provided the basic amenities for the completion of my research work. I acknowledge them thankfully.

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Contents

Abbreviations and Symbols

Abl	...	Ablative
Acc	...	Accusative
Adj	...	Adjective
Adv	...	Adverb
Aggre	...	Aggregative
Ani	...	Animate
Approx	...	Approximate
Art	...	Article
Aux	...	Auxiliary
Card	...	Cardinal
CL	...	Contrastive Linguistics
Co	...	Conjoining particle
Comp	...	Complementizer
CRC	...	Correlative relative clause
Dat	...	Dative
Def	...	Definite
Dem	...	Demonstrative
Det	...	Determiner
Emph	...	Emphatic
Enume	...	Enumerative
Excl	...	Exclusive
F.sg	...	Feminine singular
Gm	...	Genitive marker
GNP	...	Genitive Noun Phrase
Hon	...	Honorific
Hum	...	Human
Inc	...	Inclusive
Indef	...	Indefinite
Infi	...	Infinitive
Inst	...	Instrumental

Loc	...	Locative
Masc	...	Masculine
Meas	...	Measure
M.sg	...	Masculine singular
N	...	Noun
Neg	...	Negative
Nom	...	Mominalizer
Nonsp	...	Non-specific
NP	...	Noun Phrase
N.Pl	...	Neuter plural
N.Sg	...	Neuter singular
NRRC	...	Non-restrictive relative clause
Num	...	Numeral
Pl	...	Plural
PNG	...	Person, Number and Gender marker
PRC	...	Participial relative clause
Pro	...	Pronoun
Prox	...	Proximate
Prs	...	Present tense
Pt	...	Past tense
Quant	...	Quantifier
RC	...	Relative Clause
RP	...	Relative Participle
RRC	...	Restrictive Relative Clause
RS	...	Rule for Sinhala
RT	...	Rule for Tamil
RTS	...	Rule for Tamil and Sinhala
S	...	Sentence
SC	...	Structural Change
SD	...	Structural description
Sg/Sing	...	Singular
TG	...	Transformational Generative Grammar
TRC	...	Tag type of relative clause
Vb	...	Verb
VP	...	Verb Phrase

$A \rightarrow B$	...	A is rewritten as B
$A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} B \\ C \end{matrix} \right\}$	...	A is rewritten as B or C
$A \rightarrow (B)\ (C)$	...	A is rewritten as BC, B or C
$A \Rightarrow B$	...	A is transformed into B
(A)	...	A is optional
*A	...	A is ungrammatical/unacceptable
X	...	Cover symbol
$\geq$	...	Equal to or greater than
$\pm$	...	Presence or Absence of a feature

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Conceptual Framework

1.1.1 Contrastive Linguistics

Contrastive linguistics (CL), a branch of modern linguistic science compares languages synchronically for different purposes. Fisiak (1980 :1) roughly defines CL as "a sub-discipline of linguistics which is concerned with comparison of two or more languages (or subsystems of languages) in order to determine both the differences and similarities that hold between them".

It is widely believed that CL is a part of applied linguistics. Nickel (1971 : 2) states that "contrastive linguistics compares languages with quite utilitarian aim of improving the methods and results of language teaching". This opinion has the root in the development of CL in the 1950s and early 1960s in America. During the second world war there was a great demand in America for teaching foreign languages for military purposes and linguists were engaged in finding out quick and effective methods of language teaching. This paved the way for the quick development of contrastive studies in America and in turn it played an important role in formulating new language teaching methods and techniques. As a result CL was identified with foreign language teaching.

However, in Europe the situation was different during the period. Linguists belonging to the Prague School and many others from various countries in Europe made a number of theoretical contributions to CL. Fisiak's (1980) anthology itself contains a number of such theoretical works on CL from Polish scholars. According to Fisiak (ibid:217) "the

main difference between the contrastive works done in Europe and in America was that in America almost all the works were pedagogically oriented whereas in Europe the importance of the theoretical aspects of CL was recognized on a large scale" and he further says that

> "the trend to rescue CL from the constraining demands of applied linguistics, and to re-establish it as an independent study in the framework of comparative linguistics is well on the way. At the same time applied CL seems to have found its proper perspective and well-deserved place within applied linguistics" (ibid:3).

On the basis of the above discussion we can distinguish two aspects of CL, viz. theoretical and practical. The theoretical CL concerns about the theory, methods and the overall implication of the findings of CL for the theory of general linguistics. The applied CL, on the other hand concerns about the application of CL in the field of language teaching, translation methods and language typology. As Jackson (1976 : 7) points out the "contrastive description of specific languages and language systems" apart from its theoretical and practical implication, "will contribute to an understanding of individual languages and their structure". The present contrastive study of the structure of the noun phrase in Tamil and Sinhala is not pedagogically oriented. However, it can definitely be used for pedagogical purposes too.

1.1.2 The Model for the present contrastive analysis

Any linguistic model can be applied to contrastive analysis. Structural (Kufner, 1962), Stratificational (Snook, 1971), Systemic (Sinha, 1986), and Transformational (Stockwell, et al, 1965) models have been employed successfully as the framework for contrastive analysis of various languages. In the present study the Transformational Generative Grammar (TG) model is employed for the contrastive investigation of the structure of the NP in Tamil and Sinhala.

The TG model, first formulated by Noam Chomsky in 1957, has been developed with many significant modifications by Chomsky himself and many others within the last few decades. The development of TG has three phases. The first phase includes the periods from 1957 to 1964 through which the early model of TG originated and developed with many new proposals. The second phase is marked with the publication of Chomsky's 'Aspects of the theory of syntax' in 1965, which is the first complete model of TG, and called as 'Standard theory' by Chomsky himself. The third phase includes the post 'Aspects' periods through which the 'Extended Standard Theory' and later the theory of Government and Binding developed as against the semantic-based grammars like Case Grammar and Generative Semantics (See Radford (1981) and Jacobsen (1986)). However, the present study is mostly based on the Standard Theory.

There are some advantages of using the TG model than the other linguistic models for contrastive analysis though some linguists (eg. Snook, 1971; Lipinska, 1980) reject it on different grounds as a model for CL. Nickel (1971 : 4-5) points out the following three of such advantages using TG as a model for CL.

(1) In TG " the differences between languages are formulated as differences between systems and domains of rules. The approach often reveals divergences much finer than those detectable by previous methods of description".

(2) "The concept of 'deep structure' and 'surface structure' in TG. In the light of this notion many structural differences between source and target languages turn out to be merely superficial; a deep structure feature common to both languages may be manifested differently in the surface structure of the languages and vice versa".

(3) "The current pre-occupation of TG grammarians with linguistic universals, i.e. with linguistic statements which include all languages in their scope".

Sussex (1980 : 39) refuting Snook (1971) also states that

> "the *Aspects* format does possess a certain measure of flexibility. On the one hand there is the axiomatized formalization of deep grammar; and on the other the infinitive variety of levels from deep to surface grammars in which the statement of CL can be couched. It is precisely in the interplay between these levels, and their contrast across languages, that the *Aspects* model presents such rich possibilities for CL"[1].

According to TG every sentence of a language has two different levels of structures viz., deep structure and surface structure. The deep structure is the underlying P-markers which are more abstract and the output of the PS rules which contain all the necessary information for the semantic interpretation of the sentence and also called as base component. The surface structure is the actual sentence structure which is the output of the transformational component which operates on the base component and a deep structure can be realized into several surface structures by the operation of different transformational rules. TG assumes that the base component is universal and not language specific. Chomsky (1965 : 141) states that "to a large extent, the rules of base may be universal and thus not, strictly speaking, part of particular grammar". According to this assumption all the human languages have common deep structure and they differ only in their surface structures through different transformational operations. Hence in a contrastive grammar, based on TG, a common deep structure is set up for the compared constructions of the languages L_1 and L_2 and the differences are explained through the different transformational processes. The following diagram, adopted from Corder (1973 : 237) shows the structure of a contrastive grammar based on TG model. The overlaps indicate the possibility that L_1 and L_2 may have some indentical T- rules and identical surface structures.

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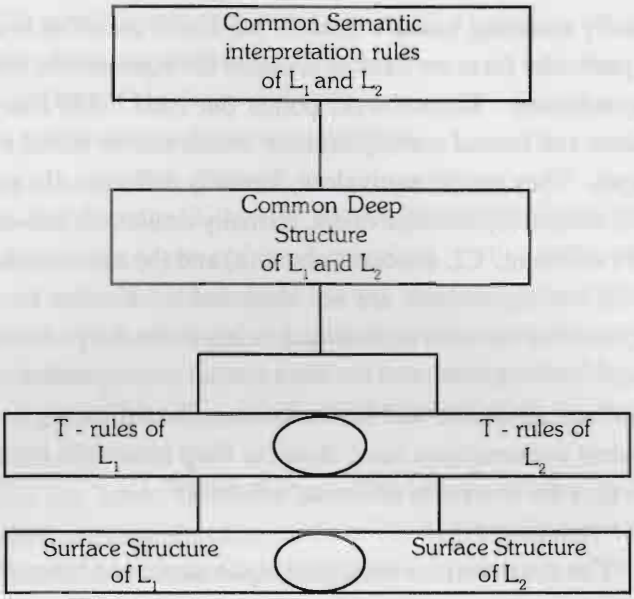
1. See also Corder (1973 : 236-44) for similar arguments.



However, Corder (1973 : 243-4) and Sussex (1980: 36-7) point out some linguistic facts which demand to allow the deep structure of L_1 and L_2 also to express differences in some degree. As far as Tamil and Sinhala NP is concerned there is no necessity to permit any differences in the deep structure and it is assumed that Tamil and Sinhala have identical deep structure.

1.1.3 The Concept of Equivalence' Congruence and Contrast in Contrastive Linguistics

The main concern of contrastive analysis in the level of syntax is to find out the equivalent constructions in the languages under investigation and to establish the differences and similarities between them. Krzeszowski (1971 : 37) defines the equivalent constructions "as those constructions which, at least sometimes, are mutually translatable". According to him (ibid) "the equivalence is a notion intrinsically connected with the meaning of compared constructions and that any approach to contrastive studies via this notion of equivalence is

necessarily meaning based". Since a particular meaning is conveyed with a particular form we have to consider the equivalence with formal correspondences. Krzeszowski points out (ibid : 38) four types of equivalent and formal correspondence which can be found in any two languages. They are (a) equivalent, formally different, (b) equivalent, formally similar, (c) non-equivalent, formally similar, (d) non-equivalent, formally different. CL concerns about (a) and (b) and excludes (c) and (d), since non-equivalents are not comparable. Further he makes an assumption that the term equivalence refers to the deep structure of the compared constructions and the term formal correspondence refers to their surface structures and he formulates the following hypothesis; "equivalent constructions have identical deep structures even if on the surface they are markedly different" (ibid:38)[2].

The constructions which are equivalents and formally similar, that is the equivalent construction which "consist of the same number of equivalent formatives arranged in the same order" are considered as congruents and the relation between them is referred to as congruence (Krzeszowski (1971 : 38). Marton (1980 : 21) precisely defines congruence. According to him a sentence or phrase of L_1 consists of A, B, C (in this order) and the equivalent sentence or phrase of L_2 consists of A', B', C' (in this order), are congruent "if each of the pairs A: A', B: B', C: C' consists of equivalent items belonging to the same word class and having the same syntactic function in each of the sentences". For example, consider the following NPs in Tamil and Sinhala which are equivalents and express the same meaning 'the man who came yesterday'.

2. However, Krzeszowski (1979 : 11) later abandoned the term "deep structure" altogether and adopted the term " input structure" which is synonymous with "semantic structure" to avoid terminological confusion with TG, since he had chosen semantic-based grammar as a model for CL.

(T) neettu vanta manican
(S) iiye aapu miniha
Yesterday came -RP man
'The man who came yesterday'

Both the strings (T) and (S) contain three equivalent formatives viz. time adverbials *neettu* and *iiye* 'yesterday', relative participial form of the verbs *vanta* and *aapu'* (who) came' and the nouns *manican* and *miniha* 'man' which are in the same order and have the same syntactic function. Hence they can be considered as congruents. Most of the NPs that contain relative clauses in both Tamil and Sinhala are congruents.

On the other hand formal differences of the equivalent constructions are considered as contrast. As we have already observed, the differences are due to the different transformations. The transformational rules of L_1 and L_2 may differ in different ways. For example, L_1 and L_2 may have a rule which performs the same operation on different categories (Sussex 1980 : 32). This can be exemplified from Tamil and Sinhala. In both the languages there is a rule which attaches a dummy suffix (*peer* in Tamil and *denaa* in Sinhala) to the numeral which occurs after the noun. However, this rule operates in Tamil only to the numerals which occur after the human nouns. But in Sinhala this rule operates to the numerals which occur after the animate noun irrespectively whether human or non-human. This different transformational operation is one of the contrastive features which makes a difference between Tamil and Sinhala NPs (See 4.3.2).

1.2. Tamil and Sinhala

Tamil and Sinhala are members of two different language families. Tamil, a Dravidian language is spoken by more than 50 million people mainly in south India, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia and some other Asian and African countries. Sinhala, an Indo-Aryan language is

spoken exclusively in Sri Lanka by more than 10 million people. Both the languages are now constitutionally recognized as national and official languages of Sri Lanka.

Both Tamil and Sinhala have been co-existing and interacting in different social situations and contexts in Sri Lanka for many centuries. Sinhala scholars admit that 'Sidat Sangarava', the earliest grammar of Sinhala language written in the thirteen century A.D. is based on the Tamil grammar 'Virasoliyam' (De Silva, 1969 : 238, Godakumbura, 1950 : 318-20). Peter Silva (1961) and Hettiarachi (1969) recognize the influence of Tamil on the structure and the lexicon of Sinhala language from the historical periods. Sinhala in turn also influenced Sri Lanka Tamil to a certain extent mainly in the area of lexicon. In spite of the present political conflicts between the Tamil and Sinhala speaking communities in Sri Lanka, both the languages have been used mutually by these communities for their day-to-day communication in certain bilingual areas in Sri Lanka.

The Sinhalese who live and work in predominantly Tamil speaking areas of the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka and in other cities where both the language communities are living together speak Tamil with varying degrees of fluency. A number of Sinhala university students, officers and professionals were willing to learn Tamil for their interests. The Tamils who live in predominantly Sinhala speaking areas also speak Sinhala and those who are in government services have to learn Sinhala for their official purposes. Nearly 70 percent of the Muslims of Sri Lanka whose mother tongue is Tamil and who live in predominantly Sinhala speaking areas other than north and east of Sri Lanka fluently speak Sinhala bilingually with Tamil and even a number of Muslim students have chosen Sinhala as their medium of instruction.

1.3 Contrastive studies on Tamil and Sinhala

Although Tamil and Sinhala have been existing side by side and interacting mutually, not enough detailed linguistic studies have been done on these languages in comparison. Only a few are worth mentioning.

(1) "Phonology of Sinhalese and Sri Lanka Tamil: A Study in Contrast and Interference" by Karunatilake, W. S. and Suseendirarajah, S. published in *Indian Linguistics* (1973).

(2) *A Contrastive study of Sinhala and Tamil Phonology.* An unpublished M. A. thesis, submitted to the University of Keleniya, Sri Lanka, by Periyathamby, R. (1980).

(3) *An Introduction to spoken Tamil* by Gair, J. W., Suseendirarajah, S. and Karunatilake, W. S. published by the External Services agency of the University of Sri Lanka (1978).

(4) *Introduction to spoken Sinhala* by Karunatilake, W. S. and Suseendirarajah, S. (mimeographed) University of Keleniya, Sri Lanka, (1976).

In the first two works, the phonology of the Colombo dialect of Sinhala has been compared and contrasted with Jaffna dialect of Sri Lanka Tamil. The latter two are merely teaching materials specially prepared to teach Tamil to Sinhala students and Sinhala to Tamil students respectively. However, in these two works we find some useful structural comparison between Jaffna dialect of Tamil and Colombo dialect of Sinhala. Apart from these works, no systematic study has been done so far on contrastive grammar of Tamil and Sinhala.

1. 4 Previous works on the NP in Tamil and Sinhala.

Though there is no previous contrastive analysis of the structure of the NPs in Tamil and Sinhala, there are a number of works dealing with the NP or some aspects of the NP separately in both Tamil and Sinhala. However, this section deals only with some important works based on the transformational model in both the languages.

1. 4. 1 Works on the NP in Tamil

Agesthialingom (1967) in his *Generative Grammar of Tamil,* which is the first work on Tamil syntax based on the early transformational model, deals with the NP in Tamil and he rewrites the NP as in the following PS rule.

$$NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP_b \\ \\ PN \end{array} \right\}$$

PN stands for pronoun and NP_b stands for the other class of the NP and it is expanded further to generate various constituents of the NP, with sub-category symbols like NP_c, NP_d, NP_e, etc. He classifies nouns into personal nouns which denote rational beings and non-personal nouns which denote 'neuter, including living creatures'. Personal nouns are further classified into proper, common, masculine, feminine etc. His category adjective includes demonstrative, numeral, mass and the adjective proper. His grammar does not include the phrasal category determiner.

Agesthialingom also deals with relative clauses under the title relative participle and he derives the sentence like

vanta payyan poonaan
'The boy who came went'

from the sentences

payyan vantaan
'The boy came' and

payyan poonaan
'The boy went'

and he also points out the case relationship between the relative participle and the head noun. He derives participial nouns like *vantavan* 'He who came' from *vanta* + *payyan* which means 'The boy who came'. It is not acceptable within the modern transformational framework since it violates the recoverability principle. We cannot recover *payyan* 'boy' from *vantavan* and also *vantavan* and *vanta payyan* are different in meaning. Agesthialingom also deals with a type of complement clause i.e. nominalized complement under the title verbal noun (pp.136-42). He derives the sentences like *avan vantate kaṇṭen* 'I saw him coming' from the sentences *avan vantaan* 'he came' *ate kaṇṭen* 'I saw it'.

Annamalai's (1997) *Adjectival clauses in Tamil* (a Ph.D thesis submitted in 1969) is one of the important works on Tamil syntax which deals with two of the nominal modifiers in Tamil. He extensively studies the formation of relative clauses and complement clauses. He terms the relative clause as case adjectival clause and complement clause as complement adjectival clause and "tries to find the semantic representation of these clauses". According to him, in case adjectival clause the head noun originates from inside the constituent sentence and it maintains a case relationship with the predicate of the constituent sentence and in complement adjectival clause the head noun originates from outside of the constituent sentence and it has no case relationship with the predicate of the constituent sentence.

Annamalai (1997:71) proposes to derive the relative clause from the underlying sentence and the head noun is present only in the underlying sentence. Hence he rewrites the NP as NP → S and the head noun is moved to the matrix sentence by a movement transformation. He formulates the transformational rules of relativization as in the following.

W	-	[	[	X	-	NP	-	Y	]	]	-	Z
		NP	S						S	NP		
1				2		3		4				5 ⇒
1				2				4+3				5

The particular NP to be relativized is marked as *[+REL]* in the semantic representation (p.13). Since the head noun originates from outside of the constituent sentence in complement constructions this movement transformation is not applicable to complement adjectival clause and he represents it by the rule NP → S + NP. Annamalai also points out the existence of correlative and tag type of clauses in Tamil. However, he does not discuss them in detail. He also studies several constraints that block relative clause formation in detail (pp.71-131).

Annamalai classifies complement clauses into subject, object and causal complements. He also makes a semantic distinction between factive and non-factive complements in Tamil.

Suseela (1981) in her thesis, *A contrastive analysis of relative clauses in Tamil and Hindi* studies the relative clause construction in Tamil in detail. She identifies two different types of "relativized constructions" in Tamil viz. relative clause construction and relative participle construction. By relative clause construction, she refers to the construction like *enta payyan neettu vantaanoo anta payyan* 'which boy came yesterday that boy', which is termed by others like Subbakrishna (1981), Ramasamy (1981) and Asher (1982) as correlative relative clause-construction. By relative participle construction she refers to the construction like *neettu vanta payyan* 'the boy who came yesterday' and fully concentrates on the second type. She does not recognize the tag type of construction like *neettu oru payyan vantaane anta payyan*' the boy who came yesterday' as relative clause construction.

Suseela classifies relative clauses (participial type) into various sub-groups on different basis. She classifies relative clauses as simple, complex and stacked relative clauses on the basis of underlying

structures; restrictive and non-restrictive on the basis of modifying function; equational and predicational on the basis of the source sentences; and time implying and not-time implying on the basis of the notion of time. However, she does not include in her study the participial nouns which contain relative clause and an indefinite pronominal head.

Sivakumar's (1981) work on *Complementation in Tamil* deals with the different types of complement construction in Tamil. He identifies the following five main types of complement construction in Tamil which are adopted in the present study.

(1) Sentence - Complementizer - Noun complementation
(2) Sentence - Noun complementation
(3) Sentence - Complementizer complementation
(4) Sentence - Nominalizer complementation
(5) Infinitive Complementation

Following Annamalai (1997) he further classifies complement Clauses into subject, object and causal complement on the basis of their function and factive and non-factive on the basis of their semantic relation.

Sivakumar derives the complementizers *enṟa, enkiṟa, enṟu,* etc. from the complementizer base *en* by applying some transformations. For example, he applies two transformational rules viz. Complementizer Insertion and Relative Participle Insertion to derive the complementizer *enṟa* in the surface structure. However, his two rules are not sufficient to derive *enṟa* since morphophonemically *en* + *RP* becomes *ena* but not *enṟa* in Tamil. Hence he has to apply another rule, the Tense marker Insertion which inserts the past tense marker *ṟ* in order to derive the proper form *enṟa.* However, this type of derivation is not necessary and is complicating the process, since the complementizers have no tense significance and they are also semantically empty. Therefore it is convenient to treat them as single units and if we treat them as single

units, one transformation that is Complementizer Insertion is enough to derive the complementizers in the surface structure and it simplifies the grammar.

Gopal (1981) in his thesis *A djectives in Tamil* which is mostly based on Agethialingom's (1976) "Adjectives in Dravidian" deals with various types of adjectives in Tamil. He classifies adjectives into two major groups viz. noun based adjectives and verb based adjectives. He further classifies noun based adjectives into simple types and complex types. The simple types are further classified into relative participle type and non-relative participle type.

According to Gopal the noun based adjectives are those adjectives which are in construction with nouns directly in the deep structure and the verb based adjectives are those adjectives which are in construction with verbs in the deep structure. For example, *aḻakaana* 'beautiful' is noun based adjective and *veekamaana* 'fast' is verb based adjective. Gopal derives the adjectives like *aḻakaana* which occurs in the NP *aḻakaana payyan* ' the beautiful boy' from the deep structure.

[[payyan aḻaku] [payyan]]
NP S NP

The adjective is derived from the embedded sentence applying a number of transformational rules like Copula *iru* Insertion, Adverbial clitic *aaka* Addition, Relativization, Equi-NP Deletion, S-node Deletion, Copula verb Deletion, etc.

The reason for choosing this long way of derivation, might be to relate the NP *aḻakaana payyan* to the sentence *payyan aḻakaaka irukkiṟaan* 'the boy is beautiful'. Hence he comes from the deep structure *#payyan aḻaku# payyan* to *#payyan aḻakaaka irukkiṟaan# payyan* and goes back to *aḻakaana payyan* deleting the elements which were transformationally added. In the present study this type of derivational process is avoided.

Radhakrishnan's (1983) *Noun phrase in Tamil* is the only work which is fully devoted to study NP in modern literary Tamil. However, he concentrates mostly on the constituents determiners and the genitive NP, and he briefly discusses the other constituents of the NP viz. relative clauses, complement clauses and adjectives in which he gives the summary of the works done by Suseela (1981), Sivakumar (1980) and Gopal (1981) on the topics respectively.

He expands the category determiner as in the following rule.

$$\text{Det} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ \\ \text{Quant} \end{array} \right\}$$

According to this rule either determinates (det.) or Quantifiers can occur with the noun. But in Tamil both the sub-categories can occur with the noun as in the following examples *anta muunu maaṇavarkaḷ* 'those three students'. His rule does not account for this fact. He also makes some wrong statements. For example, he says that in "Tamil indef. det. can precede and follow the noun" (p. 59) and he gives the examples.

oru kuṟukiya paatai and
a narrow path

kuṟukiya oru paatai
narrow a path
'A narrow path'

In the above examples the indefinite determiner *oru* precedes and follows the adjective *kuṟukiya* but not the noun *paatai*. In Tamil the indefinite determiner *oru* never follows the noun. He might have thought of the adjective. However, he uses the word noun.

The chapter on genitive noun phrase is the core of his thesis. In this chapter Radhakrishnan studies the GNP in detail. He classifies GNPs into possessive and non possessive and the possessive into alienable and inalienable on the basis of their semantic and syntactic differences. His classification is adopted in the present work too.

1.4.2 Works on the NP in Sinhala

Gair's (1970) *Colloquial Sinhalese clause structures* is one of the earliest works on Sinhala syntax based on early transformational model. According to the author his "study is aimed at producing an initial description of certain basic syntactic features in colloquial Sinhalese" (p.17). Hence the study of the NP is not the main concern of this work. However, it is treated as one of the constituents of the various clause types.

Gair terms noun, noun headed phrases and forms substitutable for them as NOMINALS. The substitutable forms include pronouns: *meekə* ' this one', *eyaa* ' he, she'; numerative phrase: *pot dekak* 'two books', *pol hungak* ' lot of coconuts' and clause transforms arising out of nominalizing transformation: *mahattea pot liaŋə* + *ekə* 'the gentleman's writing books', *baṇḍa kaḍəpu pol* ' the coconuts that Banda picked'. For Gair, "the last is at once a clause transform and a noun headed phrase" (p.45).

Gair also discusses the "distributional range" of the NP. He gives the following five positions in which an NP can occur. (1) as subject of a verbal predicate clause, (2) as subject of an equational clause, (3) as predicator of a nominal predicator clause, (4) as object of a transitive verb and (5) in the appropriate case, as axis with a postposition or substantive postpositions.

Nominal modifiers like adjectives and relative clauses (in his term clause transform) are derived from base clauses instead of embedded sentences. According to Gair "some substantive forms within the base clause becomes the head in the transform and the remainder of the base clause stands in an attributive relationship to it" (p.157). He calls this as Adjectival type Nominalization transformation and he gives the following rule.

(C_1) n - c (C_2) Pr $\rightarrow$ (C_1) (C_2) Pr - N

His examples are

(1) mamə gamə̤ə̤ giyaa → mamə giyə gamə
'I went to the village' 'The village that I went to'

(2) pot hoñday → hoñdə pot
'The books are good' 'The good books'

However he does not discuss the internal structure of the NP in any detail.

Wickramasinghe (1973) devotes a chapter to study the structure of the NP in Sinhala in her work *A Study in the Syntax and Phonology of Modern Colloquial Sinhalese.* Since her topic is very broad she could only give an outline of the sinhala NP in her study. She explores the structural possibilities of the NP in Sinhala and formulates a PS rule as follows:

$$NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ \\ (\text{Adj P})\ (\text{S})\ \text{N}\ (\text{Numeral}) \end{array} \right\}$$

She discusses the feasibility of deriving adjective from embedded sentences. However, she posits the adjectival phrase in the base component to avoid the "intricasies of such derivation" (p.63). But she derives genitive phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses from the embedded sentences in the deep structure.

She treats the numeral (cardinal) as a separate category in the base component, instead of considerding it as a sub-category of determiner. Her reason for this is that numerals occur after the noun and they inflect for case, etc. exactly as nouns do. However, she includes the ordinals which are derived from cardinals as the sub-category of adjective. It would have simplified the grammar if we consider the numerals as a sub-category of determiner which occur prenominally in the deep structure and transformationally derive them

in the postnominal position, since there are some other quantifiers in Sinhala which occur in prenominal position. Wickramasinghe also deals with complement clauses without head nouns as in the sentence *eyaa pohosetek bava pæhædiliy* 'It is clear that he is a rich man'. However, she does not deal with the complement clauses with head nouns and their transformational processes since her intention is not to study the NP in detail but to give merely an out-line of it.

Fernando's (1973) The *Syntax of Complex Sentences in Sinhalese* is an important work on Sinhala syntax to date. In her nine fairly lengthy chapters she deals with the structure of the complex sentences in Sinhala in detail in which two chapters, on relativization and complement construction, directly deal with two specific constituents of the NP. In the chapter on 'Simple Sentences in Sinhalese' she also deals with the category determiner.

Fenando postulates the determiner "as an obligatory element for all the noun phrases in order to account in a systematic way for the distribution of demonstrative and K/M particles in both singular and plural noun phrases" (p.74) and she rewrites the NP as NP → Det + N. However, this rule wrongly includes pronouns and proper nouns also which do not occur with determiners.

Fernando in her chapter on relativization (pp.96-135) deals with a type of relative clause (participial type) construction in Sinhala in detail. She postulates the PS rule NP → S + NP for restrictive relative clauses and she derives 'appositive relatives' from underlying conjunctions. She also discusses the relativizability of the NPs which are in various case positions in the underlying sentences and try to show some constraints that block relativization. Fernando also includes the NP *poḍi lamðya'* small boy' which contains the adjective *poḍi* 'small' under relativization as an example, but she does not discuss the example further. However, adjectives and relative clauses syntactically differ in several respects and should be treated differently.

Fernando also studies the process of complementation in Sinhala in detail (pp. 136-171). Her grammar generates all the types of complement clauses by the rule NP → Det + (S) + N and she posits *ekə* as the head noun for the headless complement in the deep structure and it is deleted by *ekə* Deletion rule in the process of derivation which is similar to "It Deletion' in English. She distinguishes seven types of complement constructions in Sinhala and names them as *ekə, - vaa, vittiyə, -yi, kiyəlaa, kiyənəekə* and infinitive complements on the basis of the ending of the complement clauses. However, this classification does not show generalization. For example, in the sentences.

padma aṅdənə ekə pudumay
It is surprising that Padma is crying'
and sunil *padma aṅdənə vittiyə* dannəva
'Sunil knows that Padma cries'

the italicized complement constructions are distinguished as *ekə* and *vittiyə* complements. However, to Fernando the deep structure and the derivational process of the above complements are the same (p.141, p. 146). If the deep structure and the derivational processes are the same we wonder why she should distinguish them differently as *ekə* and *vittiyə* complements. Further, we can also replace *vittiyə* in the above complement by *ekə, bavə* and *kaarənəyə* and it will not be economic to distinguish them as *ekə, bavə* and *kaarənəyə* complements.

Weerakoon (1983) in her *Noun Phrase in Sinhala and English - A Contrastive Study* deals with all the constituents of the NP in Sinhala though her treatment is brief and sketchy. She rewrites the NP in Sinhala as in the following rule NP → (Dem) (S) N (Quant). She considers the indefinite determiner as part of the noun and she brings the demonstrative under the category article (p. 23). She classifies the quantifiers into four classes. Class (A) occurs prenominally, class (B) occurs postnominally, class (C) occurs in either position and the fourth class is numeral and it also occurs postnominally. However, she posits the category Quant. in postnominal position in the base component, but she does not formulate any transformational rule for the derivation of the quantifiers in different positions in the surface structure.

Weerakoon drives the adjectives from the adjectival predicates of the underlying sentences in the deep structure. However, she treats the GNP as a kind of determiner and does not derive it from the underlying sentence. Instead it is derived morphologically (p.65). She also deals with relative clauses under the name clause transforms and she divides the NPs with clause transforms into two classes, (a) those that function as subject or object of S^S, (b) those that function only as objective complements of S^S and she gives the examples (pp.66,67).

paare giyə miniha mamə aṅdunənəva
' I know the man who went on the road'

for the first type and

eyaa *duppətunṭə udavukərənə kenek*
'He is a person who hepls the poor'

for the second type. She derives the first type from the embedded sentence in the NP by mainly two transformations viz. Identical NP Deletion and Adjectivalizing transformation. She derives the second type directly from the sentence by Adjectivalizing and Indefinite Pronoun Shifting. Her underlying sentence for the second type is *kenek duppətunṭə udavukərənəva* 'A person helps the poor'. Instead of setting up two different deep structures we can set up similar deep structures for both the types as in the following.

[[miniha paare giya] [miniha]]
NP S NP
'The man went along 'The man'
the road'
[[kenek duppətunṭə udavu kərənəva] [kenek]]
NP S NP
' A person helps the poor' 'A person'

This approach will simplify the grammar.

Weerakoon also discusses the process of complementation in Sinhala. However, she deals only with the S type of construction i.e. complement clause without head nouns as in

mamə hitənəva *eyaa eeviyə kiyəla*
'I think that he will come'

She does not discuss the S + N type of constructions.

1.5 The Scope and Nature of the Present Study

The present work, A Contrastive Grammar of Tamil and Sinhala Noun Phrase is the first systematic attempt to study the NP in Tamil and Sinhala in comparison. This study covers almost the whole structure of the NP in both the languages and includes six major constituents of the NP namely nouns, determiners, adjectives, genitive phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses.

Apart from this introductory chapter this work consists of seven chapters in which the second chapter deals with the phrase structure possibilities of the NP and the surface order possibilities of the constituents of the NP in both Tamil and Sinhala. Each of the remaining chapters deals with each of the major constituents of the NP in detail.

The primary source of the data of this study is the bilingual knowledge of the author[3]. Tamil is his mother tongue and he speaks Sinhala bilingually and he has also proficiency in literary Sinhala. First he prepared different sets of Sinhala equivalents for the different sets of Tamil sentences and phrases[4], then the equivalent sets were checked

3. "For comparative analysis, the source of the data is not a native speaker of one or other languages involved, but a competent bilingual. It is his intuition about the relationship of the forms in the two languages that is part of the valid data for analysis" (Verma, 1971 : 7).

4. "Ability to recognize equivalent sentences is part of a bilingual person's competence" (Krzeszowski, 1979 : 13).

with the native Sinhala speakers to confirm the grammaticality and acceptability of these expressons. The available linguistic studies on Sinhala and Tamil syntax and the grammatical works have also been consulted as secondary sources.

There are number of regional and social dialects existing in both Tamil and Sinhala. However, the Tamil data represent the authors' own dialect, the Batticaloa Muslim Tamil, which is a socia-regional sub dialect of Sri Lankan Tamil[5]. The Sinhala data represent the Colombo dealect of Sinhala.

5. The term socio-regional sub-dialect used here, because the Batticaloa Muslim Tamil is a sub regional dialect of Sri Lankan Muslim Tamil which is a social dialect of Sri Lankan Tamil. So far no systematic linguistic study has been done on this dialect.

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN PHRASE IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

2.1 Definition of the Noun Phrase

The noun phrase (NP) is a syntactic category which constitutes a string of words in which the nucleus is the noun. The other words or strings of words around the noun nucleus are various sub-categories of determiners and modifiers.

2.2 Function of the Noun Phrase

Functionally an NP can be the subject or the object of the sentence. It can function as the predicate of the equational sentence and can also occur with various post-positions in post-positional phrases in both Tamil and Sinhala.

2.2.1 Noun Phrase as Subject

The italicized NPs in the following sentences function as subjects.

(1.T) *anta aaciriyar* nallaa paṭippikkiṟaar
(1.S) *aṟə guṟuvəṟaya* hondəṭə ugannənəva
that teacher well teaching
'That teacher teaches well'

(2.T) *inta poṭiyan* neettu vantaan

(2.S) *Mee lamə̀ya* iiye aava

this boy yesterday came

This boy came yesterday

(3.T) *nii kuṭutta* kaacu pootaatu

(3.S) *oyya dunnə̀* Salli madi

you gave-RP money not enough

'The money that you gave is not enough'

2.2.2. Noun Phrase as object

The italicized NPs in the following sentences function as objects.

(4.T) naan *anta aaciriyar -a* paattan

(4.S) mam*ə̀* a*r̲ə̀* gu*r̲*uv*ə̀r̲*ayaa - v*ə̀* d*æ*kka

I that teacher - Acc. Saw

'I saw that teacher'

(5.T) avan *anta periya puḷiya maratt-a* vet̲t̲inaan

(5.S) eyaa *ar̲ə̀ loku siyə̀m bə̀la gahə̀* kæpuva

he that big tamarind tree-Acc. cut-Pt

'He cut that big tamarind tree'

(6.T) Kamaal *meecayila irunta pottakatt-a* eṭuttaan

(6.S) Kamaal *meeseuḍə̀ tibunə̀ potə̀* gatta

Kamal table-Loc was - RP book took

'Kamal took the book which was on the table'

2.2.3 *Noun Phrase as predicate*

The italicized NPs in the following sentences function as predicates.

(7.T) naan *oru aaciriyan*
I a teacher
(7.S) mamə *guɾuvərəy - ek*
I teacher - a
'I am a teacher'

(8.T) ilankai *oru aḷakaana tiivu*
Sri Lanka a beautiful island
(8.S) lankaavə *lassənə divəyin-ak*
'Sri Lanka beautiful island - a
'Sri Lanka is a beautiful island'

(9.T) avan *enṭa makan*
(9.S) eyaa *mage putaa*
he my son
'He is my son'

However, all types of NPs do not function as the predicate of the equational sentence. For example, NPs with demonstratives and relative clauses cannot be the predicate of the above sentences.

2.2.4 *Noun phrase with postpositions*

The italicized NPs in the following sentences occur with postpositions.

(10.T) tampi *uur ilaruntu* vantirukkiɾaan
(10.S) malli *gamee inīdəla* ævillainnəva
brother village from came - aux
'Younger brother has come from the village'

(11.T) naan *anta pottakatt -a patti* eḻutinan
(11.S) mamə *aṟə potə gænə* livva
I that book about wrote
'I wrote about that book'

(12.T) enakku *anta poṭiyan-a viṭa* aḻakaa eḻuta eelum
I - Dat that boy Acc. than beautifully write can
(12.S) maṭə *aṟə lamə́ya - ṭə vaḍaa* lassənəṭə liyənnəpuluvan
I - Dat that boy -Dat than beautifully to write - can
'I can write more elegantly than that boy'

2.3 Constituents of the Noun Phrase

2.3.1 *Noun*

Noun is the nucleus of the NP and a single noun may constitute an NP in both Tamil and Sinhala as in the following sentences.

(13.T) *poṭiyan* vantaan
(13.S) *lamə́ya* aava
boy came
'The boy came'

(14.T) naan *naay*-a torattinan
(14.S) mamə *ballavə* elevva
I dog-Acc chased
'I chased the dog'

(15.T) *avan* -ukku cukamilla
(15.S) *eyaa - ṭə* assaniipay
he-Dat ill
'He is ill'

(16.T) *avaḷ* uurukku-poonaaḷ
(16.S) *eyaa* gamə́ṭə giyaa
She village-Dat went
'She went to the village'

(17.T) *sunil* oru kaviñan
sunil a poet
(17.S) *sunil* kaviy-ek
sunil poet-a
'Sunil is a poet'

(18.T) naan *koḷumpu*-kku poonan
(18.S) mamə *koḷəm̄bə*-ṭə giyaa
I Colombo-Dat went
'I went to Colombo'

In the above sentences each italicized NP constitutes a single noun and the noun may be a common noun as in (13.T,S) and (14. T.S) or a pronoun as in (15.T,S) and (16.T.S) or a proper noun as in (17.T,S) and (18. T,S).

Hence the structure of the NPs in the above sentences in both Tamil and Sinhala could be rewritten in a PS rule as follows

RTS (1) NP → N

2.3.1.1 Compound Noun

An NP in both Tamil and Sinhala may instead contain a compound noun. A compound noun syntactically behaves like a simple noun in the surface structure. However, it is derived from an embedded sentence in the deep structure. The italicized NPs in the following sentences constitute compound nouns.

(19.T) naan *kaṭalmiin* caappiṭuvan
(19.S) mamə *muudumaalu* kanəva
I see-fish eat
'I eat sea-fish'

(20.T) *teenkaaṇṇa* talaykku nallatu
(20.S) *poltel* oluvəṭə hoñday
coconut oil head-Dat good
'Coconut oil is good for the hair'

The surface structure configuration of (19.T,S) and (20. T,S) would be (21) and (22) respectively.

(21.T) [[naan] [kaṭalmiin caappiṭuvan]]
(21.S) [[mamə] [muudumaalu kanəva]]
S [NP I] [VP sea-fish eat]

(22.T) [[teenkaaṇṇa] [talaykku nallatu]]
(22.S) [[poltel] [oluvəṭə hoñday]]
S [NP coconut oil] [VP head-Dat good]

The compound nouns *kaṭalmiin, muudu maalu* 'sea-fish' and *teenkaaṇṇa, poltel* 'coconut oil' differ from simple nouns in their internal structures since each compound noun contains two simple nouns as shown below.

(23.T) kaṭal + miin > kaṭalmiin
(23.S) muudu + maalu > muudumaalu
'sea' 'fish' 'sea - fish'

(24.T) teenkaa + eṇṇa > teenkaaṇṇa
(24.S) pol + tel > poltel
'coconut' 'oil' 'coconut oil'

Hence the structure of the above compound nouns can be given in the following formula.

$[\ N\ ] \rightarrow [\ N_1 + N_2\ ]$

Though the compound nouns in (23.T,S) and (24.T,S) are similar in their surface form, the relationship between N_1 and N_2 in those compound nouns is different. The compound nouns in (23.T) and (23.S) show subject locative relation while the nouns in (24.T) and (24.S) show object source relation in their deep structure. The deep structure of the compound nouns in (23.T,S) and (24.T,S) would be (25) and (26) respectively.

(25.T)	[	[	mini	kaṭal	ila	iru Prs	] miin]
(25.S)	[	[	maalu	muudu e	in	Prs	] maalu]
	NP	S	fish	sea -loc	be		fish
			'Fish are in the sea'				'the fish'

(26.T)	[	[	aaroo	teenkaa	ilaruntu	eṇṇa	eṭu Prs	] eṇṇa]
(26.S)	[	[	kavudə	pol	valin	tel	ga-Prs	] tel]
	NP	S	someone	coconut	from	oil	take	oil
			'Someone takes oil from the coconut'					'oil'

To derive the compound nouns in (23.T) and (23.S) from (25) we have to apply several transformations. First the Equi-NP Delection is applied. This rule deletes the coreferential NPs *miin* and *maalu* in the embedded sentences. Secondly, the Verb Deletion is applied. This rule deletes the verbs of the embedded sentence. Finally, the Case marker Deletion deletes the locative markers of the NPs and we get the compound nouns *kaṭalmiin* and *muudumaalu* 'sea-fish'.

To derive the compound nouns in (24.T) and (24.S) from (26) we have to apply the same Equi-NP Deletion, Verb Deletion and Case marker Deletion and an additional rule viz. Indefinite Subject Deletion which deletes the indefinite subject NPs *aaroo* and *kavudə* in the embedded sentences and we get the compound nouns *teenkaaṇṇa* and *poltel.*

There are different types of nominal composition in both Tamil and Sinhala [1]. However, the compounding processes are not studied further in detail in this thesis, since they behave like a single lexical unit.

2.3.2 *Determiners*

A noun can optionally be preceded or followed by a determiner in both Tamil and Sinhala as in the following examples.

(27.T) *oru* poṭiyan vantaan
a boy came
(27.S) lamәy - *ek* aava
boy a came
'A boy came'

(28.T) *anta* poṭiyan vantaan
(28.S) *aṟ̲ә* lamәya aava
that boy came
'That boy came'

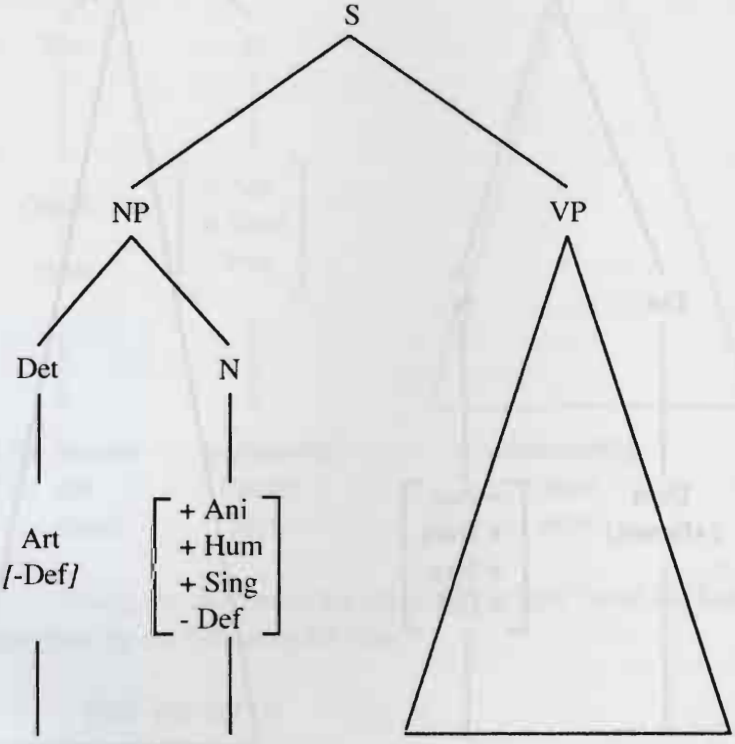
(29.T) *muuṇu* poṭiyanukaḷ vantaanukaḷ
three boys came
(29.Ta) poṭiyanukaḷ *muuṇu-peer* vantaanukaḷ
boys three - peer came
(29.S) lamay *tun-denek* aava
boys three - denaә came
'Three boys came'

In (27.T) the indefinite article *oru* in Tamil precedes the noun poṭiyan whereas in (27.S) the indefinite article - ek in Sinhala follows the noun *lamәya.* In (28.T) and (28.S) the demonstratives *anta* and *aṟ̲ә* 'that' in both Tamil and Sinhala, respectively precede the nouns *poṭiyan*

1. See Vijayavenugopal (1979) and Weerakoon (1982) for detailed discussions of nominal composition in Tamil and Sinhala respectively.

and *lamǝya* 'boy'. In (29.T) the numeral *muuṇu* 'three' in Tamil precedes the noun *poṭiyanukaḷ* 'boys'. But in (29.T.a) and (29.S) the numerals muuṇu and *tun* 'three' follow the nouns *poṭiyanukaḷ* and *lamay* 'boys' with the dummy suffix *peer* and *denaa* in both Tamil and Sinhala, respectively. However, in the deep structure all these determiners are posited in the prenominal position in both the languages and are transformationally derived in the postnominal position in the surface structure if necessary (See Chap.4). Hence, (27.T) and (27.S) have the common deep structure (30).

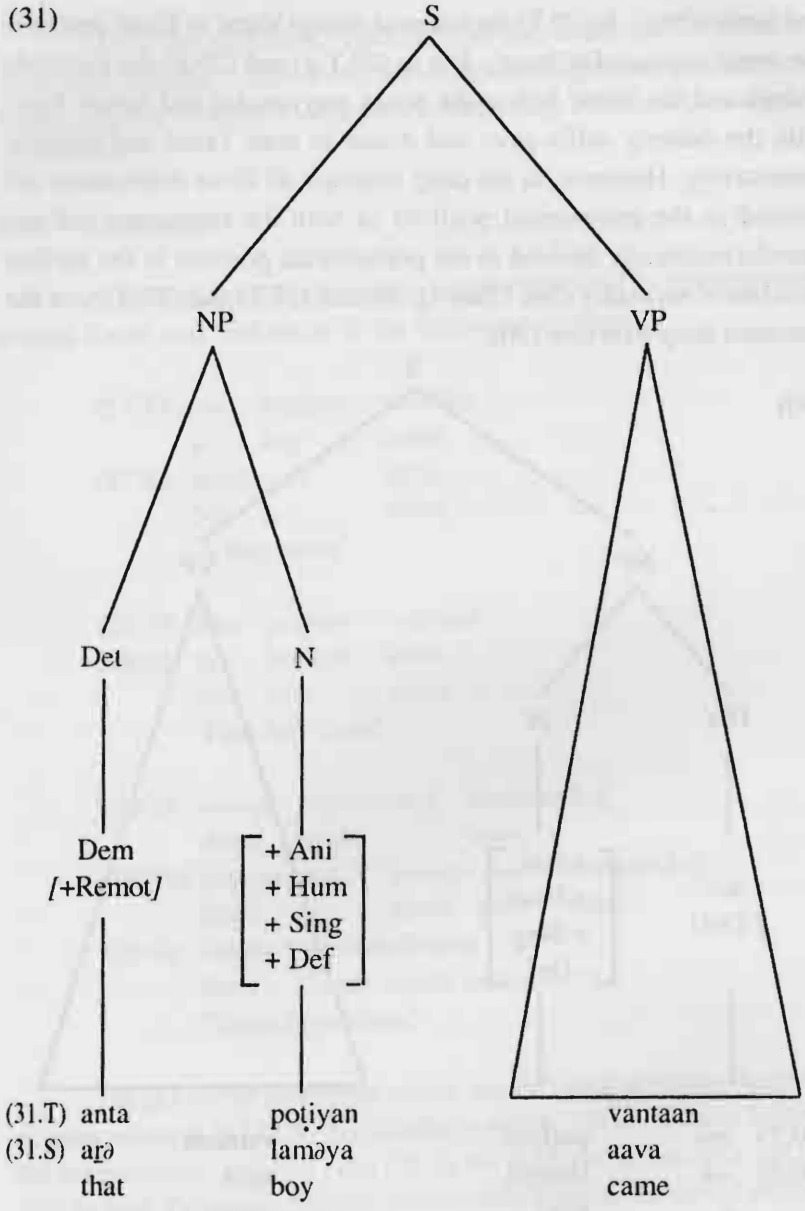
(30)



(30.T)	oru	poṭiyan	vantaan
(30.S)	-ek	lamǝya	aava
	a	boy	came

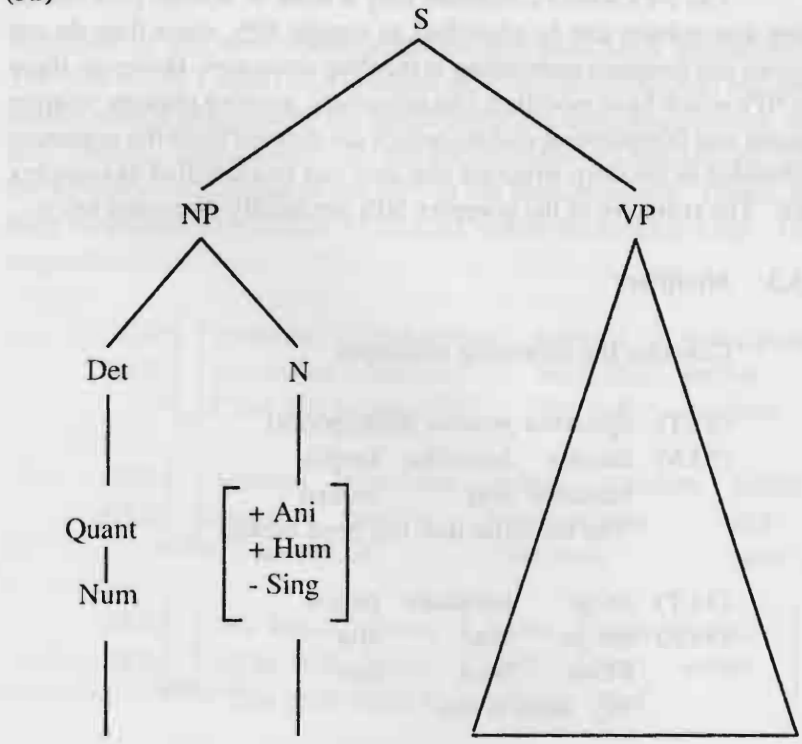
(28.T) and (28.S) have the common deep structure (31).

(31)



(29.T), (29.Ta) and (29.S) have the common deep structure (32).

(32)



(32.T)	muunu	potiyanukal	vantaanukal
(32.S)	tun	lamay	aava
	three	boys	came

Hence, the structure of the above NPs in both Tamil and Sinhala is rewritten by the following PS rule.

RTS (2) NP → Det N

Since the determiner is the optional element in the NP, both the rules RTS (1) and RTS (2) can be combined in a single rule as follows.

RTS (3) NP → (Det) N

The NPs which constitute only a noun or a noun plus one or more determiners can be classified as simple NPs, since they do not involve any sentence embedding in the deep structure[2]. However, there are NPs which have modifiers like adjectives, genitive phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses which are derived from the sentences embedded in the deep structure and they can be classified as complex NPs. The structure of the complex NPs are briefly discussed below.

2.3.3 *Modifiers*

Consider the following sentences.

(33.T) *aḷakaana pomma* oṭancipoocci
(33.S) *lassənə boonikka* kæḍila
beautiful doll broken
'The beautiful doll has been broken'

(34.T) *en-ṭa pottakam* puticu
(34.S) *ma-ge potə* alut
I-Gm book new
'My book is new'

(35.T) *nii tanta kaacu* tolancipoocci
(35.S) *oyaa dunnə salli* nætivunaa
You gave-RP money lost
The money which you gave is lost'

The italicized NPs in (33.T) and (33.S) contain the adjectives *aḷakaana and lessənə* 'beautiful' as the modifiers of the head nouns *pomma* and *boonikka* 'doll', respectively. The NPs in (34.T) and 34.S) contain genitive noun phrases (GNP) enṭa and *mage* 'my' as the

2. Quirk et al. (1976: 127) call them ' basic noun phrases'. According to them the basic noun phrases consist of "Pronouns and numerals and of nouns with articles or other closed-system items that can occur before the noun head including predeterminers like *all,* determinners like *these,* ordinals like *last,* and quantifiers like *few*", and the example given for basic NP is *All these last few days.*

modifiers of the head nouns *pottakam* and *potə* 'book' respectively. The NPs in (35.T) and (35.S) contain relative clauses *nii tanta* and *oyaa dunnə* 'which you gave' as the modifiers of the head nouns *kaasu* and *salli* 'money', respectively. All the above modifiers are derived from the sentences embedded in the NPs in the deep structure. Hence, the deep structures of (33.T,S) - (35.T,S) would be roughly (36) - (38) respectively.

(36.T)	pomma	aḷakaanatu	pomma	oṭancipooci	
(36.S)	boonikka	lassənay	boonikka	kæḍila	
	'The doll is beautiful'		'the doll'	'brokern'	

(37.T)	enakku	pottakam	irukku	pottakam	puticu
(37.S)	maṭə	potə	tiyenəva	potə	alut
	'I have book'		'the book'		'new'

(38.T)	nii kaacu tantaay	kaacu	tolancipoocci		
(38.S)	oyaa salli dunna	salli	næti	vunaa	
	'You gave money'	'money'	'lost'		

In the deep structure (37) - (38) each NP contains an S and an NP[3]. Hence, the structure of the above NPs can be represented by a PS rule as follows.

---

3. There are some other minor types of nominal modifiers in both Tamil and Sinhala which can also be derived from sentences embedded in the NP and can be called appositive clauses, following Hockett (1970 : 85-86) and Quirk et al. (1972, 628 - 45), as in the following NPs.

(1.T)	*oṇṭa*	*kuuṭṭaaḷi*	kamaal
(1.S)	*oyaage*	*yaaluva*	kamaal
	'Your	friend	Kamal'

(2.T)	*sunil*	*eṇṭa*	kaviīnan
(2.S)	*sunil*	*kiyənə*	kaviya
	'The	poet	Sunil'

However, these types are not discussed in this work.

RTS (4) NP → S NP

This rule has a recursive property and can generate NPs with any number of embedded sentences as shown in (39.T) and (39.S).

(39.T) naan cenca aḷakaana pommaya oṭacca
I made -RP beautiful doll-Acc broke-RP
enṭa tampikku aṭicca maamaakku[4] eecina maami
I-Gm brother-Dat beat-RP uncle - Dat scolded-RP aunt
enakku kaacu tantaa
I - Dat money gave

(39.S)

mamə hadəpu	lassənə	boonikka	kæḍuvə
I made-RP	beautiful	doll	broke - RP
mage malliṭə	gæhuvə	maamaṭə	bænnə
I - Gm brother	beat-RP	uncle - Dat	scolded - RP
nænd̄a	maṭə	salli	dunna
aunt	I-Dat	money	gave

'The aunt, who scolded the uncle who beat my younger brother who broke the beautiful doll which I made gave me money'.

(39.T) and (39.S) constitute the matrix sentences (40.T) and (40.S) and also the embedded sentences (41.T,S)- (46.T,S) and their derivation involves several transformations cyclically.

(40.T) maami enakku kaacu tantaa
(40.S) nænd̄a maṭə salli dunna
aunt I-Dat money gave
'Aunt gave me money'

(41.T) maami maamaakku eecinaa
(41.S) nænd̄a maamaṭə bænna
aunt uncle-Dat scolded
'Aunt scolded uncle'

4. In the dialect under discussion the object of the verbs like *aṭi* 'beat', *eecu* 'scold', *kuttu* ' knock', etc. mostly take the dative suffix - *kku* instead of accusative suffix -*a*.

(42.T) maamaa enṭa tampikku aṭiccaar
(42.S) maama mage mallitə gæhuva
uncle I-Gm brother-Dat beat
'Uncle beat my brother'

(43.T) enakku tampi irukkiṟaan
(43.S) maṭə malli kenek innəva
I-Dat brother is
'I have a brother'

(44.T) tampi pommaya oṭaccaan
(44.S) malli boonikka kæḍuva
brother doll-Acc broke
'Brother broke the doll'

(45.T) pomma aḻakaanatu
(45.S) boonikka lassənay
doll beautiful
'The doll is beautiful'

(46.T) naan pomma cencan
(46.S) mamə boonikka hæduva
I doll made
'I made the doll'

Theoretically a complex NP may contain any number of modifiers as in (39.T) and (39.S). However, the speaker limits the number of modifiers and the length of the sentence for pragmatic reasons.

In the following sentences the italicized NPs contain complement clauses.

(47.T) *avan naaḻaykku vaaṟa* vicayam enakku teriyum
(47.S) *eyaa heṭə enə* kaaṟənəyə mamə dannəva
he tomorrow come-RP fact I know
'I know the fact that he is coming tomorrow'

(48.T) *nii vantatu* nallatu
(48.S) *oyaa aapuekə* hōnday
you came-Nom good
'It is good that you came'

In (47.T) and (47.S) the NPs contain the complement clauses *avan vaaṛa* and *eyaa enə* ' that he is coming' and the head nouns *vicayam* and *kaaṛənəyə* 'the fact' respectively. The deep structure of (47.T) and (47.S) would be (49).

(49.T) [enakku [[avan naaḷaykku varuvaan] vicayam] teriym]
(49.S) [mamə [[eyaa heḷə enəva] kaaṛənəyə] dannəva]
S I NP S 'he is coming tomorrow' 'fact' 'know'

The following PS rule is capable of generating the NPs with complement clause[5].

RTS (5) NP → (S) (Det) N

However, in (48.T) and (48.S) the NPs constitute only a nominalized sentence and there are no head nouns in them. The embedded sentence itself functions as the NPs. Hence, the deep structure of (48.T) and (48.S) would be (50).

(50.T) [[[nii vantaay]] nallatu]
(50.S) [[[oyaa aava]] hōnday]
S NP 'you come' 'good'

The structure of the NPs in (50) could be represented in the following PS rule.

RTS (6) NP → S

5. The reason for setting up different PS rules to account for relative clauses and the noun phrase complement clauses has been discussed by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968 : 49). Also see Rosenbaum (1969 : 216 - 350).

2.3.4 Noun Phrase conjunction

In both Tamil and Sinhala the NPs may contain more than one noun as equal head nouns. Consider the following sentences.

(51.T) *naanumkamaalum* contakkaaṟarkaḷ
(51.S) *mamay* *kamaaluy* næ æ d æ æ yo
I - Co Kamal-Co relatives
'I and Kamal are relatives'

(52.T) *naanum maṇiyum* *sunilum* nalla kuuṭṭaaḷikaḷ
(52.S) *mamay maniy* *suniluy* hoṉdə yaaluvo
I-Co Mani-Co Sunil-Co good friends
'I, Mani and Sunil are good friends'

In (51.T) and (51.S) the NPs contain two nouns and in (52.T) and (52.S) they contain three nouns as equal head nouns. Each conjoined noun is suffixed by the conjunction particle *-um* in Tamil and *-y* in Sinhala. This type of conjunction is known as NP conjunction and the NP conjunction is different from the sentential conjunction. In *sentential conjunction two or more sentences are conjoined.* For example, (53.T) and (53.S) are derived from (54.T,S) and (55.T,S).

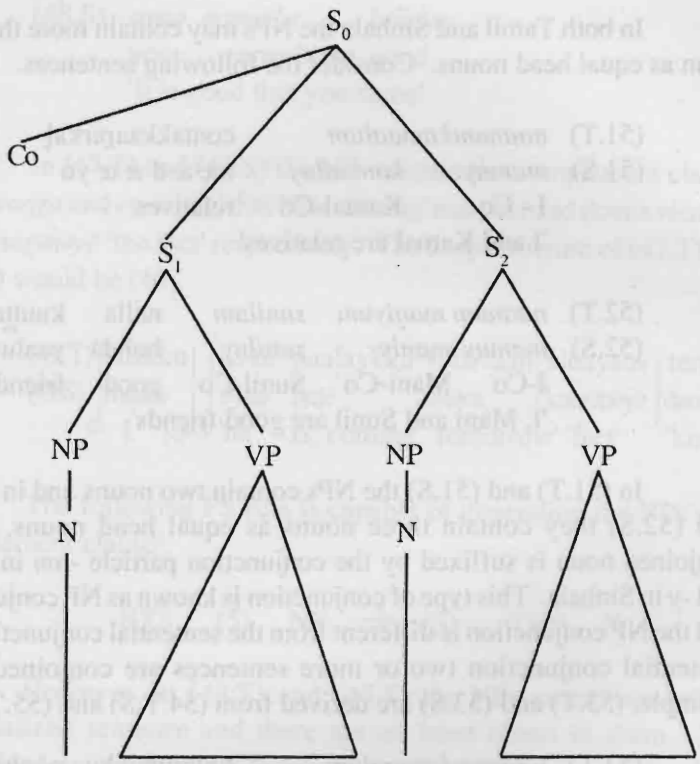
(53.T) *naanumkamaalum* koḷumpukku poonam
(53.S) *mamay* *kamaaluy* koləm̄bəṭə giyaa
I-Co Kamal-Co Colombo - Dat went
'I and Kamal went to Colombo'

(54.T) *naan* koḷumpukku poonan
(54.S) *mamə* koləm̄bəṭə giyaa
I - Colombo-Dat went
'I went to Colombo'

(55.T) *Kamaal* koḷumpukku poonaan
(55.S) *Kamaal* koləm̄əbəṭə giyaa
Kamal Colombo-Dat went
'Kamal went to Colombo'

Hence, the deep structure of (53.T) and (53.S) would be (56).

(56)



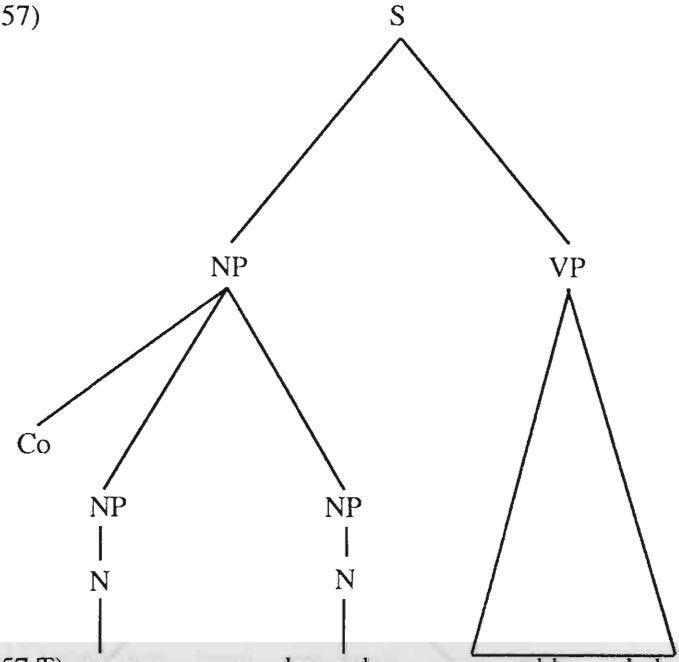
(56.T) naan koḷumpukku poonan kamaal koḷumpukku poonaan

(56.S) mamə koḷəm̄bəṭə giyaa kam̄aal koəlmbəṭə giyaa

I Colombo-Dat went kamal Colombo-Dat went

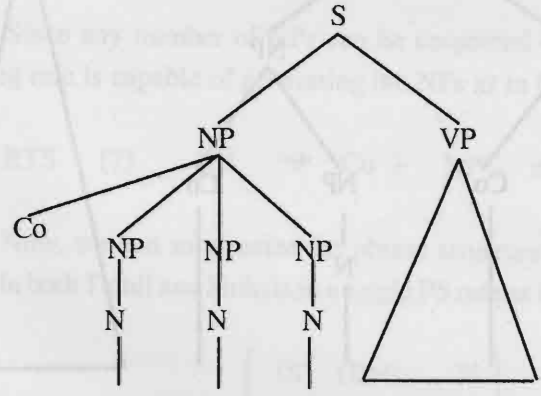
(53.T) and (53.S) are derived from (56) by applying mainly two trransformations, viz. Conjunction Distribution and VP Deletion. However, the sentences (51.T,S) and (52.T.S) do not involve sentential conjunction and cannot be analysed in terms of sentential conjunction. Hence, they are treated as NP conjunction and the deep structure for them would be (57) and (58) respectively.

(57)



(57.T)	naan	kamaal	contakkaaṟarkaḷ
(57.S)	mamə	kamaal	n æ æd æ æ yo
	I	Kamal	relatives

(58)



(58.T)	naan	maṇi	sunil	nalla	kuuṭṭaaḷikaḷ
(58.S)	mamə	mani	sunil	hoṉdə	yaaluvo
	I	Mani	Sunil	good	friends

To derive (51.T,S) and (52.T,S) from (57) and (58), respectively we have to apply the Conjunction Distribution transformation. This rule would be in the following form.

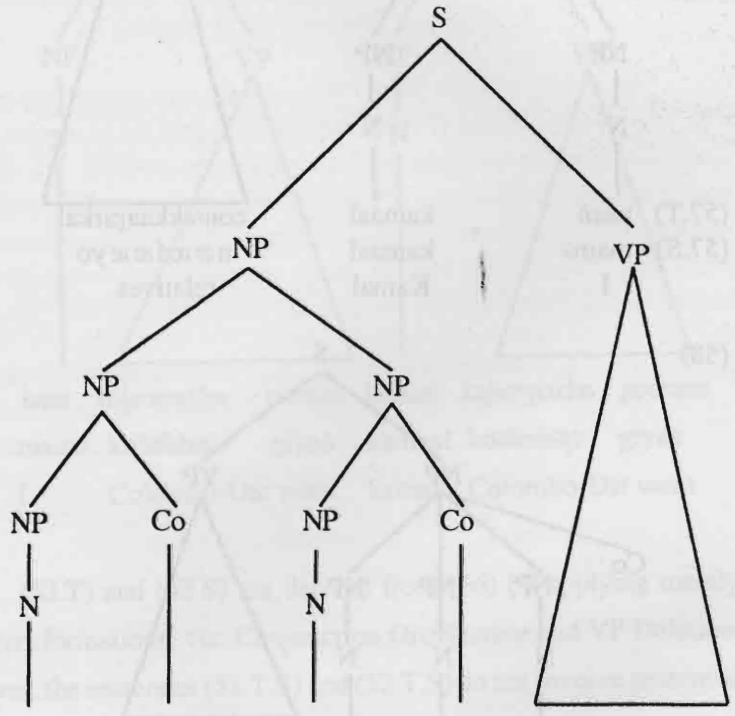
T. Conjunction Distribution

SD: $[_{S}\ [_{NP}\ Co - NP^{n}\ ]\ -\ X\ ] \Rightarrow$

SC: $[_{S}\ [_{NP}\ NP + Co\ ]^{n}\ -\ X\ ]$

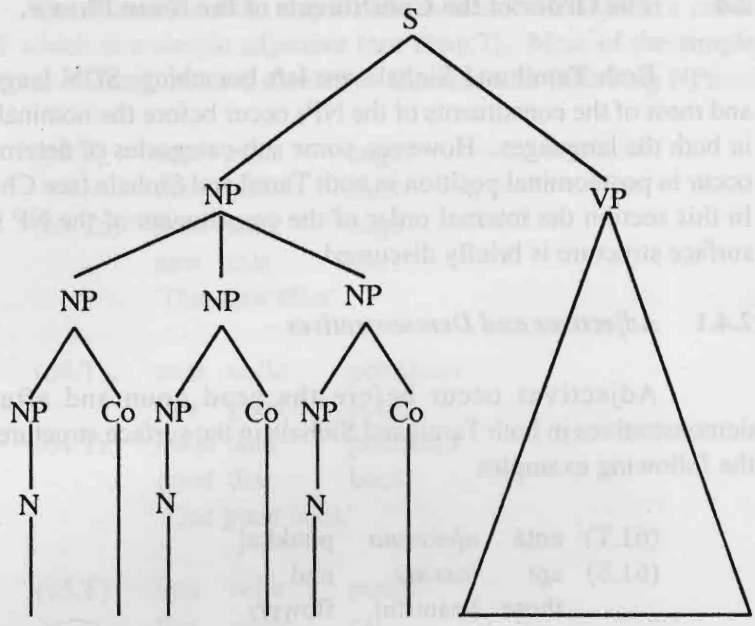
This rule attaches the conjunction marker to all the NPs as shown in the tree diagrams (59) and (60).

(59)



(59.T)	naan	um	kamaal	um	contakkaaṟakaḷ
(59.S)	mamə	y	kamaal	y	næædææyo
	I	Co	Kamal	Co	relatives

(60)



(60.T)	naan	um	maṇi	um	sunil	um	nalla	kuuṭṭaaḷikaḷ
(60.S)	mamə	y	mani	y	sunil	y	hoṉdə	yaaluvo
	I	Co	Mani	Co	Sunil	Co	good	friends

Since any number of NPs can be conjoined in this way, the following rule is capable of generating the NPs as in (57) and (58).

RTS (7) $\quad NP \rightarrow Co + NP^n, \quad n \geq 2$

Now, we can summarize the phrase structure possibilities of the NPs in both Tamil and Sinhala in a single PS rule as in the following.

$$\text{RTS (8) } NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (S)\ (Det)\ N \\ S\ NP \\ S \\ Co + NP^n,\ n \geq 2 \end{array} \right\}$$

2.4 The Order of the Constituents of the Noun Phrase.

Both Tamil and Sinhala are left branching, SOV languages and most of the constituents of the NPs occur before the nominal head in both the languages. However, some sub-categories of determiners occur in postnominal position in both Tamil and Sinhala (see Chap.4). In this section the internal order of the constituents of the NP in the surface structure is briefly discussed.

2.4.1 *Adjectives and Demonstratives*

Adjectives occur before the head noun and after the demonstratives in both Tamil and Sinhala in the surface structure as in the following examples.

(61.T)	anta	*aḻakaana*	puukkaḷ
(61.S)	aṟə	*lassɔ̀nə*	mal
	those	beautiful	flowers
	'Those beautiful flowers'		

(62.T)	inta	*cinna*	poṭiyan
(62.S)	mee	*poḍi*	laməya
	this	small	boy
	'This small boy'		

However, in Tamil the adjective in (61.T) may optionally precede the demonstrative as in (61.Ta.).

(61.Ta)	*aḻakaana*	anta	puukkaḷ
	beautiful	those	flowers
	'Those beautiful flowers'		

But this is not possible in (62.T) since (62.Ta) is ungrammatical.

(62.Ta)	* *cinna*	inta	poṭiyan
	small	this	boy
	'This small boy'		

The reason for this, may be the nature of the adjective *cinna* 'small' which is a simple adjective (see chap.7). Most of the simple adjectives in Tamil behave similarly. Consider the following NPs.

(63.T) anta *putu* caṭṭa
that new shirt
(63.Ta) * *putu* anta caṭṭa
new that shirt
'That new shirt'

(64.T) anta *nalla* pottakam
that good book
(64.Ta) * *nalla* anta pottakam
good that book
'That good book'

(65.T) inta *veḷḷa* puuna
this white cat
(65.Ta) * *veḷḷa* inta puuna
white this cat
'This white cat'

However, this permutation is possible with most of the derived adjectives. Consider the following NPs.

(66.T) anta *akalamaana* ṛoṭṭu
that broad road
(66.Ta) *akalamaana* anta ṛoottu
broad that road
'That broad road'

(67.T) inta *puttiyuḷḷa* puḷḷaykaḷ
these intelligent children
(67.Ta) *puttiyuḷḷa* inta puḷḷaykaḷ
intelligent these children'
'These intelligent children'

In Sinhala, this type of permutation is not possible, since all the adjectives occur only after the demonstrative in Sinhala. Hence both (61.Sa) and (62.Sa) are ungrammatical.

(61.Sa) *	*lassənə*	*aṟə*	mal
	beautiful	those	flowers
	'Those beautiful flowers'		

(62.Sa) *	*poḍi*	mee	laməya
	small	this	boy
	'This small boy'		

The deep structure of (61.T) and (61.S) would be (68).

(68.T)	[$_{NP}$ [$_{S}$ anta	puukkaḷ	aḻaku aaku]	anta	puukkaḷ]
(68.S)	aṟə	mal	lassənə	aṟə	mal
	those	flowers	beautiful	those	flowers

In the process of adjectivization, the equal NPs *anta puukkaḷ* and *aṟə mal* in the embedded sentences in (68) are deleted and the adjectival predicates are transformed into adjectives (See Chap.7) and demonstratives *anta* and *aṟə* in the matrix NP are shifted to the pre-adjective position. Hence, we have to formulate a transformational rule, the Demonstrative Shift and the rule would be in the following form.

<u>T. Demonstrative Shift</u>

SD:	X	- [S	- Dem -	N]	- X	⟹
	1	2	3	4	5	
SC:	1 3 2 4 5					

This rule is obligatory regarding the derivation of all the adjectives in Sinhala and it is optional regarding the derivation of derived adjectives, otherwise obligatory in Tamil. Thus the surface structure configuration of the NP with adjective and demonstrative in Sinhala would be (69.T,S), whereas in Tamil there are two possibilities (69.T.S) and (70.T).

(69.T,S) $_{NP}[$ Dem + Adj + $]_{N}$

(70.T) $_{NP}[$ Adj + Dem + N $]$
[+ Derived]

2.4.2 *Adjectives, Demonstratives and Numerals*

If the numeral occurs with the demonstratives and adjectives in the NP, there are more order possibilities in Tamil, whereas Sinhala shows only one possibility. Consider the following NPs.

(71.T)	anta	aḷakaana	*muuṇu*	puḷḷaykaḷ	
	Dem	Adj	Num	N	
(71.Ta)	anta	*muuṇu*	aḷakaana	puḷḷaykaḷ	
	Dem	Num	Adj	N	
(71.Tb)	aḷakaana	anta	*muuṇu*	puḷḷaykaḷ	
	Adj	Dem	Num	N	
(71.Tc)	anta	aḷakkana	puḷḷaykaḷ	*muuṇu*	peer
	Dem	Adj	N	Num	
(71.S)	aṟə	lassənə	lamay	*tun*	denaa
	Dem	Adj.	N	Num	

'Those three beautiful children'

The following NPs are ungrammatical in both Tamil and Sinhala.

(71.Td)	* *muuṇu*	aḷakaana	anta	puḷḷaykaḷ	
	Num	Adj	Dem	N	
(71.Te)	* *muuṇu*	anta	aḷakaana	puḷḷaykaḷ	
	Num	Dem	Adj	N	
(71.Tf)	* aḷakaana	*muuṇu*	anta	puḷḷayakaḷ	
	Adj	Num	Dem	N	
(71.Sa)	* aṟə	lassənə	*tun*	lamay	
	Dem	Adj	Num	N	
(71.Sb)	* aṟə	*tun*	lassənə	lamay	
	Dem	Num	Adj	N	

(71.Sc) *	lassənə	ar̲ə	*tun*	lamay
	Adj	Dem	Num	N

The deep structure of (71.T) and (71.S) would be (72).

(72.T) $_{NP}$[$_{S}$[anta puḷḷaykaḷ aḻaku aaku] anta muuṇu puḷḷaykaḷ]
ar̲ə lamay lassənə ar̲ə tunə lamay
'Those children are beautiful 'thoes' 'three' children

Different transformational rules are applied to derive the different surface structures. In Sinhala, the rule Quantifier Shift obligatorily shifts the numeral to the postnominal position (see. 4.3.1)[6] and the Demonstrative Shift obligatorily shifts the demonstrative to the preadjectival position, whereas in Tamil these rules optionally shifts the demonstrative and the numeral into various positions. Thus, the surface structure configuration (73.T,S) is common to both Tamil and Sinhala and the other configurations are only found in Tamil.

(73.T,S) $_{NP}$[Dem + Adj + N + *Num*]
(73.Ta) $_{NP}$[Dem + Adj + *Num* + N]
(73.Tb) $_{NP}$[Dem + *Num* + Adj + N]
(73.Tc) $_{NP}$[Adj + Dem + *Num* + N]

2.4.3 *Genitive NPs, Adjectives and Demonstratives*

Genitive noun phrase (GNP) in both Tamil and Sinhala occurs before the head noun as in the following NPs.

(74.T) *maamaaṭa* caṭṭa
(74.S) *maamage* kamisə
uncle-Gm shirt
'Uncle's shirt'

If adjective occurs with GNP it follows the GNP as in (75.T) and (75.S).

6. For a few exceptions see pp.121-123

(75.T) *maamaaṭa* putu caṭṭa
(75.S) *maamage* alut kamisə
uncle -Gm new shirt
'Uncle's new shirt'

If the adjective precedes the GNP the meaning of the NP will chage, that is, the adjective modifies the GNP instead of the head noun. Consider (76.T) and (76.S).

(76.T) putu *maamaṭa* caṭṭa
(76.S) alut *maamage* kamisə
new uncle-Gm shirt
'New uncle's shirt'

The demonstrative occurs in between the GNP and the adjective as in (77.T) and (77.S).

(77.T) *maamaaṭa* anta putu caṭṭa
(77.S) *maamage* aṛə alut kamisə
uncle-Gm that new shirt
'Uncle's that new shirt'

If the demonstrative occurs before the GNP, it normally refers to the GNP instead of the head noun. Consider (78.T) and (78.S).

(78.T) anta *maamaaṭa* putu caṭṭa
(78.S) aṛə *maamage* alut kamisə
that uncle-Gm new shirt
'That uncle's new shirt'

However, (78.T) and (78.S) are somewhat ambiguous. In a specific context they can also mean 'uncle's that new shirt' as (77.T) and (77.S), if there is a pause in between the demonstrative and the GNP. But the normal order is (77.T) and (77.S) to convey that meaning. It is also possible to place the adjective in (78.T) and (78.S) in between the demonstrative and the GNP and both the demonstrative and adjective modify the GNP, but not the head noun. Consider the NPs (79.T) and (79.S).

(79.T) anta putu *maamaaṭa* caṭṭa
(79.S) aṟə alut *maamage* kamisə
that new uncle-Gm shirt
'That new uncle's shirt'

Thus we find that the order of the GNP and the adjective in the NP is similar in both Tamil and Sinhala. The order of the relative clause with other constituents in the NP is also similar in both the languages.

2.4.4 *Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses in both Tamil and Sinhala occur before the head noun and the GNPs, and the adjectives always follow them in the NP. The demonstrative may precede or follow the relative clauses. consider the following NPs.

(80.T) *naan* *eḷutina* kavita
(80.S) *mamə* *liyəpu* kaviyə
I wrote-RP poem
'The poem which I wrote'

(81.T) *naan* *eḷutina* nalla kavita
(81.S) *mamə* *liyəpu* hoṉdə kaviyə
I wrote-RP good poem
'The good poem which I wrote'

(82.T) *naan* *eḷutina* enṭa nalla kavita
(82.S) mamə liyəpu mage hoṉdə kaviyə
I wrote-RP my good poem
'My good poem which I wrote'

(83.T) *naan* *eḷutina* anta kavita
(83.S) *mamə* *liyəpu* aṟə kaviyə
I wrote-RP that poem
'That poem, which I wrote'

(84.T) anta *naan* *eḷutina* kavita
(84.S) aṟə *mamə* *liyəpu* kaviyə
that I wrote-RP poem
'That poem, which I wrote'

All the modifiers in the above NPs somehow modify the head nouns *kavita* and *kaviyə* 'poem' one after another. For example, in (82.T) the first modifier *nalla* modifies the head noun *kavita,* the second modifier *enṭa* modifies the head noun as already modified by the adjective *nalla,* the third modifier *naan eḷutina* modifies the head noun *kavita* as already modified by the first and the second modifiers. However, a modifier can also modify some other NP in the modifiers of the Matrix NP as already shown in (76.T,S). Consider some other examples.

(85.T) *enkaṭa* *maamaa* *eḷutina* kavita
(85.S) *apee* *maama* *liyəpu* kaviyə
We-Gm uncle worte-RP poem
'The poem which our uncle wrote'

(86.T) *neettu* *vanta* *enkaṭa* *maamaa* *eḷutina* kavita
(86.S) *iiye* *aapu* *apee* *maama* *liyəpu* kaviyə
Yesterday came-RP We-Gm uncle wrote-RP poem

'The poem written by our uncle who came yesterday'

In (85.T) and (85.S) the relative clauses *maamaa eḷutina* and *maama liyəpu* modify the head nouns *kavita* and *kaviyə* respectively, whereas the GNP *enkaṭa* and *apee* modify the NPs *maamaa* and *maama* in the relative clauses. Similarly in (86.T) and (86.S) while the relative clauses *maamaa eḷutina* and *maama liyəpu* modify the head noun *kavita* and *kaviyə*, the other modifiers, the relative clauses *neettu vanta* and *iiye aapu* and the GNPs *enkaṭa* and *apee* - modify the NP, *maamaa* and *maama* in the relative clauses *maamaa eḷutina* and *maama liyəpu.* In this way most of the constituents of the NPs can occur in a single NP as shown in (87.T) and (87.S).

(87.T) *aṉṯaykku vanta anta aḻakaana poṯṯaṯa appaa*
that day came-RP that beautiful girl-Gm father
oru kolakaaṟan enṯa vicayam uṇma
a murderer comp matter true
(87.S) *edaa aapu aṟə lassənə kelləge* taəttaa
that daycame-RP that beautiful girl-Gm father
miniimaṟuvek kiyənə kataavə ættə
murderer-a comp story true
'The story that the father of that girl who
came the other day is a murderer is true'

The NPs in (87.T) and (87.S) contain a head noun, a complement clause, a *GNP,* an adjective, a demonstrative and a relative clause and the sentences constitute a metric sentence and four underlying sentences. The derivational processes involve several transformations like Relativization, Equi-NP Deletion, Adjectivization. Genitivization, complementizer insertion, etc.In the following chapters the structural Similarities and differences of the six major constituents of the NP viz.

Nouns
Determiners
Relative clauses
Complement clauses
Adjectives and
Genitive phrases

and their transformational processes in both Tamil and Sinhala are discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 3

NOUN IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

Noun is the nucleus of the NP. According to the syntactic function of the category noun, it is classified into several sub-categories. Nouns and their sub-categories in Tamil and Sinhala show similarities in several aspects and a few significant differences. At the outset we can classify the nouns into two major sub-groups, namely pronouns and non-pronouns (or nouns) by the following sub-categorization rule.

RTS (9) N → [± Pro]

3.1. Sub-categories of Noun

The nouns which have the feature specification [-pro] can be further sub-categorized according to their inherent features which "play a role in the determination of compatibility with verbs" in sentences and which also have a kind of "natural hierarchy" (Stockwell, 1977 : 48). The following rules sub-categorize the nouns in Tamil and Sinhala into several sub-groups.

RTS (10) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{N} \\ -\text{Pro} \end{bmatrix}$ → [± Common]

RTS (11) [+ Common] → [± Concrete]
RTS (12) [+ Concrete] → [± Count]
RTS (13) [+ Count] → [± Singular]
RTS (14) [+ Count] → [± Animate]
RTS (15) [+ Animate] → [± Human]
RT (16) [+ Human] → [± Masculine]
RS (17) [+ Animate] → [± Masculine]
RTS (18) [+ Human] → [± Honorific]
RTS (19) [- Common] → [± Animate]

The rule RTS (10) classifies the nouns in Tamil and Sinhala into common nouns and proper nouns and they mostly behave alike in both the languages. Personal names, place names and any specific name for anything come under proper noun and they are specified by the feature *[- Common]*. The other nouns come under the category common noun and they are specified by the feature *[+ Common]*. These two nominal categories differ in their syntactic behaviour. Proper nouns usually do not take any determiners while most of the common nouns do. However, in some specific contexts proper nouns may also take determiners as in the following examples.

(1.T)	ilankayila	*reṇṭu*	*kaaratiivu*	irukku
	Sri Lanka-Loc	two	karativu	be-Prs
(1.S)	lankaave	*kaaratiivu dekak*		tiyənəva
	Sri Lanka-Loc	karatiyu		be- Prs
	'There are two karativus in Sri Lanka'			

(2.T)	*anta*	*kamaala*	patti	koncam	collu
(2.S)	*arə*	*Kamaal*	gænə	ṭikak	kiyənnə
	that	Kamal	about	some	tell
	'Tell something about that Kamaal'				

(3.T)	*inta*	*koḷumpila*	ippa	namakku	ciivikka	eelaatu
(3.S)	mee	kolə̄mbe	dæn	apiṭə	jiivatvennə	bææ
	this	Colombo-Loc	now	we-Dat	to live	cannot
	'Nowadays we cannot live in this Colombo'					

In Sinhala a human proper noun may take the suffix -la and the noun plus -la means, that particular person and some others connected with (that person) in some respect like family members or friends[1]. See the following examples.

1. In Sinhala -la is a plural suffix which occurs with kinship nouns, pronouns and some borrowed nouns which denote professionals like *dostər* 'doctor' *draivər* 'driver', etc. However, a proper noun +la does not mean two or more persons with the same name. Instead, in this construction -la has the meaning 'x and others' or 'x and company' apart from its plural meaning.

sunil	+ la	>	sunilla	'Sunil and others'
soomaa	+ la	>	soomǝla	'Soma and others'
baṉḍa	+ la	>	baṉḍǝla	'Banda and others

This type of suffixation is absent in Tamil. However, in Tamil to convey the same idea the word *aakkaḷ* 'people/person' may occur with the proper noun as shown in the following examples.

kamaal	aakkaḷ	' Kamal and others'
sunil	aakkaḷ	'Sunil and others'

Thus the following sentences can be considered as equivalanets in Tamil and Sinhala.

(4.S) sunil - la aavaadǝ
(4.T) sunil-aakkaḷ vantaankaḷaa
Sunil and others came - Q
'Did Sunil and others come?'

(5.S) kamaal-la koləmbǝṭǝ gihilla
(5.T) kamaal -aakkaḷ koḷumpukku pooyirukkaanka
Kamal and others Colombo-Dat have gone
'Kamal and others have gone to Colombo'

Common nouns are further sub-categorized into concrete and abstract nouns in Tamil and Sinhala by the rule RTS (11). These sub-categories syntactically behave similarly in both the languages.

The nouns that denote material objects like the following in Tamil and Sinhala are grouped under concrete nouns and are specified by the feature *[+ Concrete]*.

Tamil	**Sinhala**	
kallu	galə	'stone'
maram	gahə	'tree'
taṇṇi	vatur̲ə	'water'
manican	miniha	'man'

The nouns that denote non-material entities like the following in Tamil and Sinhala are grouped under abstract nouns and are specified by the feature *[- Concrete]*.

Tamil	**Sinhala**	
tukkam	dukə	'sadness'
cantoosam	sañtoosəyə	'happiness'
kaatal	aadar̲ee	'love'
maṇam	suəñdə	'fragrance'

The nouns that can occur with numeral quantifiers are count nouns and are specified by the feature *[+ Count]*. The nouns which cannot be pluralized and can occur with non-definite quantifiers or with measures come under mass nouns and they are specified by the feature *[- Count]*. Thus the NPs (8.T) and (8.S) with count nouns are grammatical while (9.T) and (9.S) with mass nouns are ungrammatical.

(8.T)	muuṇu	maramkaḷ
	three	trees
(8.S)	gas	tunə
	trees	three
	'Three	trees'

(9.T)	* muunu	taṇṇi
	three	water
(9.S)	* vatur̲ə	tunə[2]
	water	three
	'three	waters'

2. The construction (9.S) is acceptable in Sinhala in the context of measure deletion. For example, vatur̲ə kooppə tunnə dennə 'Give three cups of water' → vatur̲ə tunə dennə 'Give three water'. However, in Tamil (9.T) is not acceptable in any context (See also pp.63,64)

The following NPs in which the mass nouns occur with non-definite quantifiers and measures are grammatical.

(10.T) koncam taṇṇi
a little water
(10.S) vaturə ṭikak
water a little
'A little water'

(11.T) ciini reṇṭu ṟaattal
sugar two pounds
(11.S) ciini ṟaattal dekak
sugar pounds two
'Two pounds of sugar'

Though the mass nouns usually do not cooccur with numerals, one can hear often in places like hotels and restaurants the phrases like the following in Tamil and Sinhala.

(12.T) reṇṭu paal
two milk
(12.S) kiṟi dekak
milk two
'two milk'

(13.T) muuṇu cooṟu
three rice
(13.S) bat tunak
rice three
'Three rice'

(14.T) naalu teettaṇṇi
four tea
(14.S) tee hatəṟak
tea four
'four tea'

Though they are acceptable, in fact they are elliptical of the following NPs in both the languages.

(12.Ta) reṇṭu kap paal
two cup milk
(12.Sa) kiri kooppə dekak
milk cup two
'Two cups of milk'

(13.Ta) muuṇu piḷeeṭ cooru
three plate rice
(13.Sa) bat pleeṭu tunak
rice plate three
'Three plates of rice'

(14.Ta) naalu kiḷaas teettaṇṇi
four glass tea
(14.Sa) tee glass haterak
tea glass four
'Four glasses of tea'

Though mass nouns show similarities in their syntactic behaviour in both Tamil and Sinhala as we have observed in the above examples, the count nouns in Tamil and Sinhala show same significant differences.

Every count noun is Sinhala shows singular and plural distinction and the singular noun shows definite and indefinite distinction. In Sinhala the singular count nouns inflect for indefiniteness. That is, the indefinite article is suffixed to the noun (see 4.1.4). Thus, a count noun in Sinhala has three distinct forms viz. singular definite, singular indefinite and plural. See the following examples.

Singular		Plural
Definite	*Indefinite*	
miniha	minihek	minissu
'the man'	'a man'	' men'
balla	ballek	ballo
'the dog'	'a dog'	'dogs'
potə	potak	pot
' the book'	'a book'	'books'
bas ekə	bas ekak	bas
'the bus'	'a bus'	'buses'

In contrast to this, in Tamil the singular count nouns do not inflect for indefiniteness. Instead the indefinite article *oru* is preposed to the noun to express indefiniteness (See 4.1.3). Hence, in Tamil there is no formal distinction between definite and indefinite singular nouns as we find in Sinhala.

The count nouns are further sub-categorized into animate and inanimate nouns, and the animate nouns into human and non-human nouns in both Tamil and Sinhala by the rules RTS (14) and RTS (15) respectively. However, the animate and inanimate distinction is syntactically more significant in Sinhala than in Tamil; whereas, the human and non-human distinction is syntactically more significant in Tamil than in Sinhala. Thus, in Sinhala and Tamil one of the basic distinctions of the nouns would be as follows:

Sinhala	Tamil
Animate Vs. Inanimate	Human Vs. Non-human

The animate and inanimate distinction in Sinhala and the human and non- human distinction in Tamil are syntactically manifested in several aspects. Though in Sinhala the subject predicate agreement does not exist for person, number and gender as it does in Tamil, the animate and inanimate nouns collocate differently with the verbs *innəva 'be'* and *tiyenəva* 'be'. The verb *innəva* takes only the animate nouns as its subject while the verb *tiyenəva* takes only the inanimate nouns as its subject. Consider the following sentences.

(15.S) taatta gedər*ə* *innəva*
father house -loc be
'Father is in the house'

(16.S) balla gedər*ə* *innəva*
dog house-loc be
'The dog is in the house'

(17.S) salli gedər*ə* *tiyenəva*
money house-loc be
'Money is in the house'

(18.S) potə gedər*ə* *tiyenəva*
book house-Loc be
'The book is in the house'

The following sentences are ungrammatical due to the violation of this selectional restriction.

(19.S) * taatta gedər*ə* *tiyenəva*
father house-Loc be
'Father is in the house'

(20.S) * potə gedərə *innəva*
book house-Loc be
'The book is in the house'

In contrast to this, in Tamil every verb with non-human subject takes the non-humn termination *-tu* while the verb with human subject takes the human termination which indicates the person, number, and gender (PNG) of the subject. Consider the following sentences.

(21.T) oru naay pooku*tu*
a dog going-PNG'
'A dog is going'

(22.T) oru kaar pooku *tu*
a car going-PNG
'A car is going'

(23.T) oru poṭiyan poo*ṟaan*
a boy going-PNG
'A boy is going'

(24.T) oru pompuḷa poo*ṟaaḷ*
a woman going-PNG
'A woman is going'

In Sinhala, the quantifiers that occur after the animate nouns obligatorily take the suffix *-denaa* while the quantifiers that occur after inanimate nouns do not take it. In contrast to this, in Tamil the quantifiers that occur after the human nouns obligatorily take the suffix *-peer* while the quantifiers that occur after the non-human nouns do not take it (see 4.3.2).

The rule RT (16) sub-categories the human noun in Tamil into masculine and feminine whereas the rule RS (17) sub-categoriezes the animate nouns in Sinhala into masculine and feminine. This is another important distinction that the Tamil and Sinhala nouns show.

In Sinhala most of the animate nouns - human and non-human have masculine and feminine forms. Consider the following examples.

	Masculine		**Feminine**	
Non-human	balla	'dog'	bælli	'female dog'
	kukula	'cock'	kilili	'hen'
	eluva	'goat'	eludenə	'buck'
	sinhəya	'lion'	sinhədenə	'lioness'
	ætaa	'elephant'	ætinni	'she -elephant'
Human	kolla	' boy'	kellə	'girl'
	gu*ṟ*uvə*ṟ*əya	'teacher'	gu*ṟ*uvə*ṟ*iyə	'teacher

taatta	'father'	amma	'mother'
maama	'uncle'	nænda	'aunt'
malli	'younger brother'	nan̄gi	'younger sister'

However, the masculine and feminine distinction in Sinhala is morphological than syntactic. Syntactically it is "limited to the nominal-pronominal interrelation". Thus the masculine nouns can be replaced by the pronouns *uu/ohu* 'he' and the feminine nouns can be replaced by the pronoun *ææ* 'She' (De Silva, 1958 : 119-24)[3].

In Tamil, in contrast to this only the human nouns show gender distinction and it is syntactically very significant. It is significant not only for pronominal reference but also for subject predicate agreement. Consider the following sentences.

(25.T) tampi vantirukki*ṟaan*
younger brother has come
'Younger brother has come'

(26.T) tankacci vantirukki*ṟaaḷ*
younger sister has come
'Younger sister has come'

The verbs of the above sentences agree with the human subject *tampi* and *tankacci* which have the feature specification *[+ Masculine]* and *[- Masculine]* respectively by suffixing *-aan* and *-aaḷ* which are masculine and feminine gender markers respectively. The sentences (25.Ta) and (26.Ta) are ungrammatical due to the violation of this agreement rule.

(25.Ta) * tampi vantirukki*ṟaaḷ*
'Younger brother has come'

3. Syntactically this distinction however, seems to be more restricted to literary Sinhala; although in some southern dialect the pronoun *ææ* is used for feminine reference.

(26.Ta) * tankacci vantirukkiṟaan
'Younger sister has come'

The sinhala equivalents of (25.T) and (26.T) are (25.S) and (26.S) respectively in which the verbs show no formal distinction.

(25.S) malli *ævilla innəva*
Y. brother has come
'Younger brother has come'

(26.S) nagi *ævilla innəva*
Y. sister has come
'Younger sister has come'

The human nouns in Tamil and Sinhala are further sub-categorized into honorific and non-honorific by the rule RTS (18). This specification is syntactically relavent for pronominalization and imperative construction in Sinhala. In Tamil, apart from this, it is also relevant for subject predicate agreement. For example, the noun *maama* 'uncle' which is specified by the feature *[+* Honorific *]* in both Tamil and Sinhala can be replaced by the honorific pronoun *eyaa* 'he' in Sinhala and *avar* 'he' in Tamil. It is unacceptable if it is replaced by the non-honorific pronouns *uu* 'he' in Sinhala and *avan* 'he' in Tamil. Consider the following examples.

(27.T) maamaa neettu vantaar { avar / *avan } oru maṇikkuuṭu koṇṭuvantaar

(27.S) maama iiye aava { eyaa / * uu } oṟulosuvak genaava
uncle yesterday came he a watch brought
'Uncle came yesterday and he brought a watch'

In the imperative sentences the nouns which are specified as *[+* Honorific *]* co-occur with appropriate verbal forms in Tamil and Sinhala. Thus, (28.T) and (28.S) are acceptable while (28.Ta) and (28.Sa) are unacceptable.

(28.T) maamaa inca vaanka
(28.S) maama mehe ennə - ko
uncle here come
'Uncle, please come here'

(28.Ta.)* maamaa inca vaa
(28.Sa) * maama mehe varen
uncle here come
'Uncle, come here'

In Tamil, the verbs that take the honorific nouns as their subject have to take the honorific suffixes *-aar* or *aa* which are masquline and feminine respectively. Consider the following sentences.

(29.T) maamaa vantirukkir̲ - *aar*
uncle has come
'Uncle has come'

(30.T) maami vantirukkir̲ - *aa*
aunt has come
'Aunt has come

The sentences (29.Ta) and (30.Ta) may not be acceptable in the appropriate social context, since they violate the agreement rule for honorificness[4].

(29.Ta) * maamaa vantirukkir̲ - *aan*
'Uncle has come'

(30.Ta) * maami vantirukkir̲ - *aal*
'Aunt has come'

The proper nouns, which are specified by the feature *[*-Common] can also be sub- categorized according to their inherent features like *[* ± Animate*]*, *[* ± Human*] [*± Masculine*]* and *[* ± Honorific*]* in both Tamil and Sinhala and they behave alike.

4. *-aan* and *-aaḷ* are non-honorific masculine and feminine personal endings respectively.

3.2 Pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala

Pronouns differ from nouns in their syntactic function. They can be either deictic or anaphoric. In their deictic function they can refer to the speaker, hearer or the person or thing other than the participant of the discourse. In their anaphoric function they can replace an NP which can be the antecedent of the pronoun.

3.2.1 *Sub- categories of Pronoun*

The pronouns in both Tamil and Sinhala are sub-categorized into two major sub-groups viz. personal pronouns and non-personal pronouns.

3.2.2 *Personal Pronouns*

The personal pronouns are classified further into three sub-groups viz. first person, second person and third person pronouns.

The pronouns that denote the speaker and the hearer of the discourse are referred to as first and second person respectively. The pronouns that denote the non-participants of the discourse are referred to as third person.

3.2.3 *First Person Pronouns*

First person pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala are further sub-categorized into singular and plural and the plural in Tamil into inclusive and exclusive. The Table - 1 shows the first person pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala.

Table - 1

First person	Tamil	Sinhala
Singular	naan	mamə maŋ
Inclusive Plural	naamaḷ[5]	api
Exclusive	naankaḷ	

5. The final /ḷ/ of the first and second person pronouns and the third person honorific and plural pronouns is retained only when they take suffixes.

naan is the only first person singular pronoun in Tamil. In Sinhala, there are two forms *mamə* and *maŋ* and they are free variants in the subject position.

(31.S) mamə yanəva
(31.Sa) maŋ yanəva
(31.T) naan pooran
I going
'I am going'

The oblique stem of *naan* is *en-* and *mamə / maŋ* has two varients *maa-* and *ma-* for case inflection. Consider the following examples.

Case	**Tamil**	**Sinhala**
Nominative	naan	mamə / maŋ
Accusative	enna	maavə
Dative	enakku	maɫə
Genitive	enṭa	mage
Instrumental	ennaala	magen

Tamil maintains inclusive and exclusive distinction in the first person plural pronouns which is totally absent in Sinhala. Thus, *api* is the only equivalent for the two different pronominal forms *naamaḷ* and *naankaḷ* in Tamil. The oblique stems of these pronouns are *nammaḷ* and *enkaḷ* respectively and the Sinhala counterpart *api* has no varient. Consider the following examples.

(32.T) nammaḷukku kaacu veeṇum
we (Incl.) Dat money want
'We (Incl.) want money'

(33.T) enkaḷukku kaacu veeṇum
we (Excl.) Dat money want
'We (Excl) want money'

(32/33.S) *apiṭə* salli oonə
we Dat money want
'We want money'

The inclusive and exclusive distinction in Tamil is syntactically insignificant, regarding the verbal endings. Consider the following examples.

(34.T) *naanka* koḷumpukku poo*vam*
we (Excl) Colombo-Dat will go
'We (Excl) will go to Colombo'

(35.T) naama koḷumpukku poo*vam*
we (Incl) Colombo -Dat will go
'We (Incl)will go to Colombo'

3.2.4 *Second Person Pronouns*

The second person pronouns in both Tamil and Sinhala are sub- categorized into singular and plural and the second person singular pronouns in Tamil are further sub-categorized into honorific and non-honorific whereas in sinhala both singular and plural pronouns are sub-categorized into honorific and non-honorific. In Tamil, there is no honorific distinction in the second person plural pronoun.

In Sinhala, unlike in Tamil, we find four levels of honorificness in the second person pronouns. The second person honorific and non-honorific pronouns in Sinhala are further sub-categorized into two levels viz. honorific - I and honorific - II and non-honorific -I and non-honorific - II. The second person pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala are given in the following Table for comparison.

Table - 2

	+ Singular				- Singular			
	- Honorific		+ Honorific		-Honorific		+ Honorific	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
Sinhal	umbə tamuse	too	obə obətumaa obətumii obəvahanse tamunnaanse	oyaa ohee	umbəla tamusela	topi	obəla obətumaala obətumiila obəvahansela tamunnaansela	oyaala oheela
Tamil	nii		niinkaḷ					

In Tamil, we find only two distinct forms of second person pronouns in which the form *niinkaḷ* is homophonous and denotes both the second person singular honorific and plural. In contrast to this in Sinhala we find a number of forms and the use of these forms is socially determined.

The forms specified by the feature *[+Honorific-I]* are used to address the highly respectable person in the social hierarchy and they are not frequently used. The plural form *tamunnaansela* is generally used to address the gatherings in a public meeting. The forms *obətumii* and *obətumiila* are feminine and others are masculine.

The pronouns specified by the feature *[+ Honorific - II]* are used to address equals and others towards whom the speaker has or likes to express respect. The forms *ohee* and *oheela* are generally used among elderly persons and strangers.

The pronouns specified by the feature /- Honorific- I/ are generally used to address subordinates or inferiors by superiors. They are also mutually used among friends. The forms *tamuse* and *tamusela* are generally restricted to males.

The pronouns specified by the feature / - Honorific - II / are used to address those who are at the lowest level of social hierarchy and to abuse someone. They express the disrespect of the speaker towards the hearer. Hence, they can be considered as derogatory forms.

We find these socio linguistic variations of the second person pronominal forms also in syntax in a restricted manner. As Wickramasinghe (1973 : 115 - 16) points out, " these variations are mainly limited to the imperative form of the verbals". For example, the verb *kanəva*' eat' has the following four different imperative forms [6].

kanumæ nəvi	-	/ + Honorific - I/
kannə	-	/ + Honorific - II/
kaapan	-	/ - Honorific - I/
kaapiyə	-	/ - Honorific - II/

The following sentences show the co-occurrences of these verbs with the appropriate pronominal forms.

(36.S) obəvahanse kanumænəvi
'Lord, please have your meals'

(37.S) oyaa kannə
'You eat please'

(38.S) um̃bə kaapan
'You eat'

(39.S) too kaapiya
'You eat'

6. Not all the verbs in Sinhala have these four distinct forms, Some of them have three.

In Tamil, unlike in Sinhala only the singular pronominal forms show honorific and non-honorific distinction and Tamil maintains only two levels of honorificness in contrast to the Sinhala four levels. However, the honorific and plural forms in Tamil behave alike in Syntax. The verbs take - *iinka (1)* ending for subject predicate agreement and -*nka* ending for imperative. See the following examples.

(40.T) *nii* eppa poo*naay*
you (Sg.N.Ho) when went
'When did you go?'

(41.T) *niinka* eppa poon-*iinka*
you (Sg.Hon) when went
'When did you go?'

(42.T) *niinka* eppa poon-*iinka*
you (P1) when went
'When did you go?'

(43.T) *nii* naaḷaykku poo
you (Sg.N.Ho) tomorrow go
'You go tomorrow'

(44.T) *niinka* naaḷaykku poo-*nka*
you (Sg.Ho) tomorrow go
'You (Sg.No) go tomorrow'

(45.T) *niinka* naaḷaykku poo-*nka*
you (P1) tomorrow go
'You (P1) go tomorrow

In Sinhala, we find gender distinction in some second person pronouns. The forms *obətumaa* and *obətumaala* are masculine and *obətumii* and *obətumiila* are feminine. But in Tamil gender distinction is totally absent in the second person.

3.2.5 *Third person pronouns*

The third person pronouns are demonstrative in both Tamil and Sinhala and they are derived from the demonstrative bases. In Tamil, the third person pronouns show two way deictic distinction, namely proximate and remote while in Sinhala they show three way distinctions, namely proximate, remote - I and remote - II. The remote - I pronouns refer to those away from the speaker, but near to the hearer and the remote - II pronouns refer to those away from both the speaker and hearer [7].

The third person pronouns in both Tamil and Sinhala are further sub-categorised by the features [± Singular], [± Human], [± Masculine] [± Honorific]. In addition to these in sinhala these pronouns are further specified by the feature [± Animate] The Table 3 and 4 show the third person pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala respectively.

Table - 3

Third person pronouns in Tamil

			+ Proximate		- Proximate	
+ Human			+ Sing	- Sing	+ Sing	- Sing
- Honorific		+ Masc	ivan	ivanukaḷ	avan	avanukaḷ
		- Masc	ivaḷ	ivaḷukaḷ	avaḷ	avaḷukaḷ
+Honorific	I	± Masc	ivankaḷ ivakaḷ	-	avankaḷ avakaḷ	-
	II	+ Masc	ivar	ivankaḷ	avar	avankaḷ
		- Masc	iva	ivakaḷ	ava	avakaḷ
- Human			itu	itukaḷ	atu	atukaḷ

7. In fact the three way deictic distinction is a Dravidian feature which is found in Old Tamil and lost in Modern literary and spoken Tamil except the Jaffna dialect which still preserves some of the archaic features. One can assume that Sinhala may have borrowed this grammatical feature from Tamil, since this feature is not found in any other Indo-Aryan languages.

Table - 4

Third person pronouns in Sinhala

					+Proximate		- Proximate - I		- Proximate - II	
					+Singular	-Singular	+Singular	-Singular	+Singular	-Singular
+ Animate	+ Human	+Honorific	I	+Masc	munnæhe metumaa	mannæhæla metumaala			unnæhe etumaa	unnæhæla etumaala
				- Masc	metumii	metumiila			etumii	etumiila
			II	± Masc	meyaa	meyaala	oyaa	oyaala	eyaa	eyaala
		-Honorific	I	+ Masc					(ohu)	
				-Masc					(ææ)	(ææla)
	-Human	+Honorific	II	+Masc	meeka muu	mevun mun	ooka uu	ovun uu	eeka aṟuu	evun aṟun
				-Masc	meeki	meekila	ooki	ookila	eeki	eekila
-Animate					meekə	meeva	ookə	oova	eekə	eeva

(1) The *meyaa* set of the pronouns do not show gender distinction. Hence, they are specified by the feature *[*± Masc*]*

(2) The *[*-Human*]* pronouns are also used to refer to human derogatorily. Hence, they are specified by the feature *[*-Honorific - II*]*

In Tamil, there is no one to one equivalent for the remote -I pronouns in Sinhala[8]. The remote pronoun in Tamil may be considered as the equivalents of both the remote -I and remote - II pronouns in Sinhala as shown in the following Table.

Table - 5

	Proximate	Remote - I	Remote - II
Sinhala	meekə	ookə	eekə / arəkə
Tamil	itu	atu	

In Tamil, the third person pronouns show human and non-human distinction while in Sinhala, they show human, non-human animate and inanimate distinction. The non-human animate pronouns are totally absent in Tamil. This is another important distinction between the pronominal systems in Tamil and Sinhala. The non-human animate and inanimate pronouns in Sinhala can be represented by a single non-human pronoun in Tamil as shown in the following Table.

Table - 6

	Sinhala	**Tamil**
Human	meyaa	ivar
Non-human animate	meeka	itu
Inanimate	meekə	

The Sinhala third person pronouns also maintain the four levels of honorificness as the second person pronouns. The forms *metumaa, metumii, munnæhe*, etc., are used to refer to highly respectable people in the social hierarchy and are specified by the feature *[+ Honorific - I]*. The *meyaa* set of the pronouns are used to refer to equals, friends, and also inferiors with respect. They are the polite form and specified by the feature *[+ Honorific - II]*. The forms *ohu* and *ææ* are genereally used

8. In the Jaffna dialect of Tamil we find the remote - I category of pronouns *uvan [+Hum, + Masc], uval [+Hum, - Masc], utu [- Hum]*, etc. Which can be considered as one to one equivalent for the Sinhala remote - I pronouns.

to refer to inferiors by superiors and are specified by the feature *[- Honorific - I]* [9]. The non- human animate pronouns *uu, muu, eeka, eeki,* etc. are also used to refer to human with the implication of disrespect[10]. Hence, they are considered as the derogatory forms of the third person pronouns and are specified by the feature *[-Honorific - II]*.

In contrast to this, in Tamil the third person pronouns show three levels of honorific distinction, that is honorific - I, honorific - II and non - honorific. The pronouns *ivan, ivaḷ, avan, avaḷ,*etc. are non-honorific forms in Tamil and they are also used to refer to equals and friends. The pronouns *ivar, iva, avar* and *ava* are the honorific - II forms and are used to refer to a person with respect. The forms *ivankaḷ/ ivakaḷ* and *avankaḷ / avakaḷ* are also used as singular high honorific to refer to highly respectable persons like father, mother, husband, teacher, etc, and it depends on the affection and the attitudes of the speaker towards the referent. They are specified as honorific - I.

In Sinhala the *meyaa* set of the third person polite forms are used to refer to both male and female without showing gender distinction while Tamil has separate forms for masculine and feminine. The Tamil equivalents of the Sinhala forms are given in the following Table.

Table - 7

	Tamil	**Sinhala**
Masculine	ivar	meyaa
Feminine	iva	
Masculine	avar	eyaa oyaa ar̲əya
Feminine	ava	

9. These two forms (*ohu* and *ææ*) are mostly used in literary Sinhala.
10. Gair (1970 :32) terms these forms as 'animal - derogatory'

3.2.6 *Non - Personal Pronouns*

In both Tamil and Sinhala the non-personal pronouns can be further sub-categorized into four sub-groups.

(1) Anaphoric pronouns
(2) Interrogative pronouns
(3) Indefinite pronouns
(4) Universal pronouns

3.2.6.1 *Anaphoric Pronouns*

Anaphoric pronouns are those pronouns which have antecedents.

In Tamil, the pronominal forms *taan* and *taankaḷ* which are singular and plural respectively are used exclusively as anaphoric pronouns. They are human and common for both masculine and feminine. Consider the following sentences.

(46.T) avan *taan*um poorataa connaan
he he-also going-Adv said
'He said that he was also going'

(47.T) avaḷ *taan*um poorataa connaaḷ
she she-also going-Adv said
'She said that she was also going'

(48.T) avanka *taankaḷ*um poorataa connaanka
they they-also going-Adv said
'They said that they were also going'

taan in (46.T) and (47.T) refers to the subject NPs *avan* and *avaḷ* of the matrix sentences and *taankaḷ* in (48.T) refers to the subject NP *avanka* of the matrix sentence.

Similar to this in Sinhala we find the pronominal forms *tamun/ taman* which do not show number and gender distinction and are exclusively used as anaphoric pronouns[11]. Consider the following sentences.

(49.S) aṛə lamay *tamun*ge pantivaləṭə giyaa
those boys their classes-Dat went
'Those boys went to their classes'

(50.S) taatta *tamun*ge saukyəyəgænə hituve næ æ
father his health about thought Neg.
'Father did not care about his health'

tamun in (49.S) and (50.S) refers to the subject NPs *lamay* and *taatta* respectively.

The third person remote pronouns are also used as anaphoric pronouns in both Tamil and Sinhala as shown in the following examples..

(51.T) maamaa *avar*-ra peenaya enakku tantaar
(51.S) maama *eyaa*-ge pæ æ nə matə dunna
uncle his pen-Acc I-Dat gave
'Uncle gave me his pen'

(52.T) naan oru pottakam vaaciccan *atu* nallatu
(52.S) mamə potak kiyevva *eekə* hoñday
I a book read it good
'I read a book. It is good'

11. Most of the scholars in Tamil and Sinhala consider the pronominal forms *taan* and *taankaḷ* in Tamil and *tamun* and *taman* in Sinhala as reflexive pronouns. However, in both Tamil and Sinhala the reflexive meaning is not conveyed by the above pronominal forms. The NPs in (46.T) -(50-S) are not reflexive. In fact the reflexive meaning is conveyed by the verbal elements *koḷ* in Tamil and *gan* in Sinhala. (See Padmanabha Pillai (1982), Weerakoon (1982).

In the above sentences the remote pronouns *avar* 'he' and atu 'it' in Tamil and the remote -II pronouns *ayaa* 'he' and *eekə* 'it' in Sinhala refer to the antecedents *maamaa* 'uncle' and *pottakam* 'book' in Tamil and *maama* 'uncle' and *potə* ' book' in Sinhala respectively.

3.2.6.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Tamil except *aar* ' who' are derived from the interrogative base *e-* and they are specified by the features *[* ± Human*]* and *[* ± Masculine*]*. Some of the interrogative pronouns are given below.

Human		**Non - Human**	
aar	'who'	etu	'what'
evan	'who -he'	enna	'what'
eval̤	'who-she'	ettina	'how many'
		eval̤avu	'how much'

The interrogative pronouns in Sinhala are derived from the interrogative bases *mo-*and *k-* and they are further specified by the features *[* ± Animate*]* and *[* ± Human*]*. The following are some of the interrogative prononouns in Sinhala.

Human	**Non-human animate**	**Inanimate**
kavuṟu .. də 'who'	kooka .. də 'which'	kookə .. də 'which'
kiidenek ..də	mokaa.. də	mokak..də
'how many people'	'what'	'what'
	kiidednek .. də 'how many'	kiiyak .. də 'how many'

In Sinhala, unlike in Tamil the suffix - *də* always occurs as a part of the interrogative. The case suffixes always occur in between the interrogative base and the suffix - *də*. For example, the pronoun *kavuṟu.. də* has the oblique form *kaa.. də* and takes the following case forms.

Nominative	-	kavuṟu .. də (kavudə)
Accusative	-	kaa-və - də
Dative	-	kaa -ṭə - də
Genitive	-	kaa-ge-də
Instrumental	-	kaa-gen-də

Consider the following Sinhala sentences in which the suffix - *də* occurs continuously in (S) and discontinuously in (Sa).

(53.S)	*kavudə*	bat	kanne	
	who	rice	eating	
(53.Sa)	*kavuṟu*	bat	kanəvaa*də*	
	Who	rice	eating-də	
	'Who is eating rice?'			
(54.S)	oyaaṭə	pot	*kiiyakdə*	oonə
	you-Dat	book	how many	want
(54.Sa)	oyaaṭə	pot	*kiiyak*	oonə*də*
	you - Dat	book	how many	want-də
	'How many books do you want?			
(55.S)	lamay	*kiidenekdə*	aave	
	boys	how many	came	
(55.Sa)	lamay	*kiidenek*	aavaa*də*	
	boys	how many	came - də	
	'How many boys came?'			
(56.S)	mee	potə	*kaagedə*	
	this	book	whose	
(56.Sa)	meek	*kaage*	potə*də*	
	this	whose	book-də	
	'whose book is this?'			

In the above examples the (S) sentence are emphatic and the (Sa) sentences are non- emphatic. In the emphatic sentences the suffix - *də* continuously occurs with the interrogatives and in the non- emphatic

sentences the suffix occurs with the predicates whether verbal as in (53.Sa) - (55.Sa) or nominal as in (56.Sa). In the emphatic sentences as in (53.S) and (55.S) the verbs are in their emphatic forms. However, the modal verbs as in (54.S) do not under go any change.

The absence of the non-human animate forms in Tamil which are found in Sinhala is another distinction between the interrogative pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala. Hence, there is no one to one equivalent in Tamil for the non-human animate forms in sinhala. The non-human forms in Tamil can be the equivalent of the both the forms in Sinhala as shown in the following Table.

Table - 9

	Sinhala	**Tamil**
Non-human animate	kooka...də	etu
Inanimate	kookə... də	

Consider the following sentences.

(57.S) kookadə oyaaṭə oonə
which one (+Ani) you - Dat want

(58.S) kookədə oyaaṭə oon
which one (-Ani) you -Dat want

(57/58.T) etu onkaḷukku veeṇum
which one (±Ani) you -Dat want
'Which one do you want?'

In Tamil, we find masculine and feminine distinction in the human non-honorific interrogative pronouns. Thus, *evan* is masculine and *evaḷ* is feminine. But this distinction is not found in Sinhala. However, the human pronoun *kavudə* in Sinhala is identical in behaviour with *aar* in Tamil. Both are neutral for number, gender and respect. See the following sentences.

(59.T) aar anta poṭiyan
(59.S) kavudə aṟə kolla
who that boy
'Who is that boy?'

(60.T) aar anta poṭṭa
(60.S) kavudə aṟə kellə
who that girl
'Who is that girl?'

(61.T) aar anta aakkaḷ
(61.S) kavudə aṟə minissu
who those people
'Who are those people?'

3.2.6.3 Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns in both Tamil and Sinhala show more similarities than differences. In both the languages the indefinite pronouns are further classified into specific and non-specific pronouns. There are two types of non-specific indefinite pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala. The pronouns of the first type in Sinhala are phonetically similar to the interrogative pronouns. Their counterparts in Tamil are morphologically formed by adding the non-specific suffix *-oo* to the interrogative pronouns. The following are non-specific indefinite pronouns in Tamil and Sinhalal.

	Tamil
aaroo	*[+ Human]*
evanoo	*[+Human, + Masculine]*
evaḷoo	*[+Human, - Masculine]*
eetoo	*[- Human]*
ennamoo	*[- Human]*

Sinhala

kavudə	*[+ Human]*
mokekdə	*[-Human, + Singular]*
mokkudə	*[-Human, - Singular]*
mokakdə	*[-Animate, + Singular]*
monəvaadə	*[-Animate, - Singular]*

Consider the following sentences.

(62.T)	*aaroo*	vantirukkiṟaanka	
(62.S)	*kavudə*	ævilla	innəva
	someone	came	be
	'Someone has come'		

(63.T)	avar	*ennamoo*	kuṭuttaar
(63.S)	eyaa	*mokakdə*	dunna
	he	something	gave
	'He gave something'		

Non-specific indefinite pronouns of the second type are formed by adding the suffix *-aavatu* in Tamil and *-haṟi* in Sinhala to the interrogatives as given below.

Tamil

aaraavatu	*[+Human]*
evanaavatu	*[+Human, + Masculine]*
evaḷaavatu	*[+ Human, - Masculine]*
eetaavatu	*[-Human]*
ennavaavatu	*[-Human]*

Sinhala

kavuṟuhaṟi	*[+ Human]*
mokekhaṟi	*[-Human]*
mokakhaṟi	*[-Animate]*
kookəhaṟi	*[-Animate]*
monəvaahaṟi	*[-Animate]*

They give the meaning 'some one or other' or 'something or other'. etc. For example, consider the following sentences.

(64.T) naaḷayku *aaraavatu* varuvaan
(64.S) heṭə *kavuṟuharṟi* enva
tomorrow someone or other will come
'Someone or other will come tomorrow'

(65.T) enakku caappiṭa *eetaavatu* taanka
(65.S) maṭə kannə *mokakharṟi* dennə
I Dat to eat something or other give
'Give me something or other to eat'

The specific indefinite pronouns in Tamil are derived from the indefinite determiner *oru* and the non-definite quantifiers *cila, pala,* etc. The Sinhala counterparts are also derived from the non-definite quantifiers. The following are some of the indefinite pronouns in Tamil and Sinhala.

Tamil

oruttar	*[+Human, + Honorific]*	'someone', 'a person'
oruttan	*[+Human, + Masculine]*	'someone'
orutti	*[+Human, - Masculine]*	'someone'
cilar	*[+Human, - Singular]*	'some people'
cilatu	*[-Human, - Singualr]*	'somethings'
koncam	*[-Human]*	'a little/ few'

Sinhala

ekkena	*[+ Human, + Singular]*	'someone, a person'
kiipədenaa	*[+ Human, - Singular]*	'some people'
kiipəyak	*[- Animate, Singular]*	'something'
ṭikak	*[-Animate]*	'a little/few'

For example, see the following sentences.

(66.T) naaḷayku *oruttar* varuvaar
(66.S) heṭə *ekkenek* enəva
tomorrow someone will come
'Someone will come tomorrow'

(67.T) eeḷaykaḷukku *cilar* otavi ceyyiṟaanka
(67.S) duppətunṭə *kiipədenek* udəvu kəṟənəva
poor people-Dat some people help doing
'Some people help the poor'

(68.T) enakkum *koncam* taanka
(68.S) maṭat *ṭikak* dennə
I-Dat -too a little give
'Give me also a little'

All the indefinite pronouns whether specific or non-specific also have the determiner function in both Tamil and Sinhala as they occur before or after the nominal head in the NP (See.4.1.5,6,7).

3.2.6.4 Universal Pronouns

The following are universal pronouns in Tamil

Human

ovvoruttanum	*[*+Singular, + Masculine*]*	'everyone'
ovvoruttiyum	*[*+Singular, - Masculine*]*	'everyone'
ovvoruttarum	*[*+Singular, ± Masculine*]*	'everyone'
ellaarum	*[*-Singular, ± Masculine*]*	'all'
cakalarum	*[*-Singular, ± Masculine*]*	'all'

Non-Human

ovvoṇṭum	*[*-Singular*]*	'everything'
ellaam	*[*-Singular*]*	'all'
muḷutum	*[*-Singular*]*	'all'

The following are universal pronouns in sinhala.

kavuṟut	*[*+Human*]*	'everyone/all'
hæmoomə	*[*+ Human*]*	'everyone/all'
okkomə	[±Animate, ± Human]	'all'
seeṟəmə	[±Animate, ± Human]	'all'

In Tamil, we find distinct forms of universal pronouns for singular and plural whereas in Sinhala there is no separate form for singular. Thus the Sinhala human pronouns *kavurut* and *hæmoomə* are equivalents of the human singular and plural pronouns in Tamil as given in the following Table.

Table 10

	Singular	**Plural**
Tamil	ovvoruttanum ovvoruttiyum ovvoruttarum	ellaarum cekalayum
Sinhala	kavuṟut, hæmoomə	

Consider the following sentences.

(69.T) ovvoruttarum veela ceyyaṇum
everyone work should do
'Everyone should work'

(70.T) ellaarum veela ceyyanum
all work should do
'All should work'

(69.70.S) *kavuṟut* væḍə kəṟənnə oonə
everyone/all work should do
'Everyone/all should work'

In Tamil, the human singular pronouns *ovvoruttanum* and *ovvoruttiyum* show gender distinction, masculine and feminine respectively. But in Sinhala there is no gender distinction in the universal pronouns.

In both Tamil and Sinhala, the universal pronouns also have determiner function as they occur with the nominal heads in the NP.

CHAPTER 4

DETERMINERS IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

Determiners which can precede or follow the noun nucleus, form a constituent of the NP and "serve to stipulate the reference of the noun" (Stockwell, 1977 : 55). The category determiner constitutes the sub-categories article, demonstrative and quantifier in both Tamil and Sinhala. The determiners in both the languages show many similarities and a few significant differences in their surface structure. The following PS rule expands the category determiner in both Tamil and Sinhala.

RTS (20) Det $\rightarrow$ ($\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Art} \\ \\ \text{Dem} \end{matrix} \right\}$) (Quant)

4.1 The Article

Article in both Tamil and Sinhala can be either definite or indefinite and the indefinite article can be optionally preceded by a non-specific particle. Thus, the article is expanded in the following rule.

RTS (21) Art $\rightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Def} \\ \\ \text{(Nonsp) Indef} \end{matrix} \right\}$

4.1.1 Definite Article

The definite article is phonetically realized as ∅ in both Tamil and Sinhala and it is expanded in the following rule.

RTS (22) Def $\rightarrow$ ∅

The speaker uses the unmarked noun if he assumes that the hearer knows the intended referent of the NP in the discourse. He may use some other syntactic properties such as demonstrative, quantifier, relative clause, etc. to definitivize the NP if he thinks the hearer needs some more clarification of the NP. Consider the following sentences.

(1.T) *poṭiyan* vantaanaa
(1.S) *lamǝya* aavadǝ
boy came -Q
'Did the boy come?'

(2.T) *naay* kolaykkutu
(2.S) *balla* buṟǝnǝva
dog barking
'The dog is barking'

(3.T) *puḷḷayakaḷ* nittira koḷḷutukaḷ
(3.S) *lamay* nidaa gannǝva
'Children sleeping
'The children are sleeping'

In the above sentences the unmarked NPs *poṭiyan, naay* and *puḷḷaykaḷ* in Tamil and *lamǝya, balla* and *lamay* in Sinhala are definite. We set up ∅ as the definite article since in contrast to this there are overt indefinite articles in Tamil and Sinhala.

4.1.2 Indefinite Article

The speaker uses the indefinite article or some other indefinite determiners when he assumes that the hearer does not have previous knowledge about the intended referent of the NP in the discourse. The rules RT (23) and RS (24) rewrite the indefinite article in Tamil and Sinhala respectively.

RT (23) Indef → { oru / ∅ }

RT (24) Indef → { -ek / -ak / ∅ }

In Tamil, the indefinite article *oru* occurs with singular count nouns and ∅ with plural nouns. In Sinhala, the indefinite article *-ek* or *-ak*[1] occurs with singular count nouns and plural nouns which occurs with quantifiers and the ∅ occurs with the plural nouns which occurs without quantifiers[2]. Thus the plural nouns *puḷḷaykaḷ* and *lamay* in (3.T) and (3.S) respectively can also he interpreted as indefinite according to the context in which the sentence is uttered.

4.1.3 Indefinite Article in Tamil

In Tamil, the word *oru,* a homophonous form, has two different functions in the NP. It functions as the indefinite article occurring before a singular count noun as in (4.T) and (5.T).

---

1. There are two different analysis of the indefinite article in Sinhala. Some linguists like Wickramasinghe, D. M. (1973) and Weerakoon, H. (1982) treat it with two variants as - *ek* and *-ak* which are mostly morphologically conditioned; that is, *-ek* occurs with animate nouns and *-ak* occurs with inanimate nouns with a few exceptions. Others, like Fernando, M. S. (1973) and Karunatilaka, W. S. and Suseendirarajah, S. (1976) treat it as *-k* and explain the morphophonemic variations of the noun stem. The first treatment is adopted in this study for convenience. However, the phonological aspects are not discussed.

2. Most of the Sinhala scholars consider that the plural nouns do not take the indefinite article. Though they do not take the article directly, the indefiniteness of the plural nouns is manifested in the quantifiers which follow them, that is the indefinite article is attached to the quantifiers.

(4.T) *oru* *poṭiyan* vantaan
a boy came
'A boy came'

(5.T) naan *oru naaval* vaaciccan
I a novel read
'I read a novel'

It is also the allomorph of the numeral *oṇṭu* 'one', which occurs only before a singular noun. The numeral *oṇṭu,* always occurs after the noun. Thus the NPs (6.T) and (7.T) are grammatical while the NP (8.T) is ungrammatical.

(6.T) *oru* pottakam
one book
'One book'

(7.T) pottakam *oṇṭu*
book one
'One book'

(8.T) **oṇṭu* pottakam
one book
'One book'

Due to this homophonous nature of *oru* we find an ambiguity in (6.T). It may mean ' one book' or 'a book'. In the same way the sentence (4.T) can also be interpreted 'one boy came'. These different interpretations depend on the context in which the utterances occur. If the sentence (4.T) is the answer of the question like (9.T).

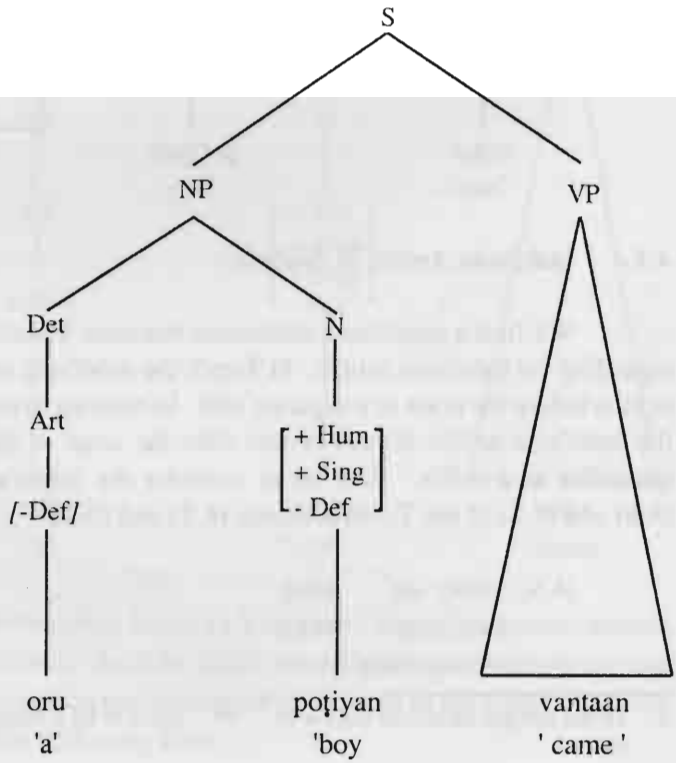
(9.T) ettina poṭiyanukaḷ vantaanukaḷ
how many boys came
'How many boys came?

then the interpretation of *oru* is 'one' and not the indefinite 'a'. In this context the numeral *oru* usually has a slightly heavy stress on the second syllable. The answer for the above question may also be with an emphatic marker as shown in (10.T).

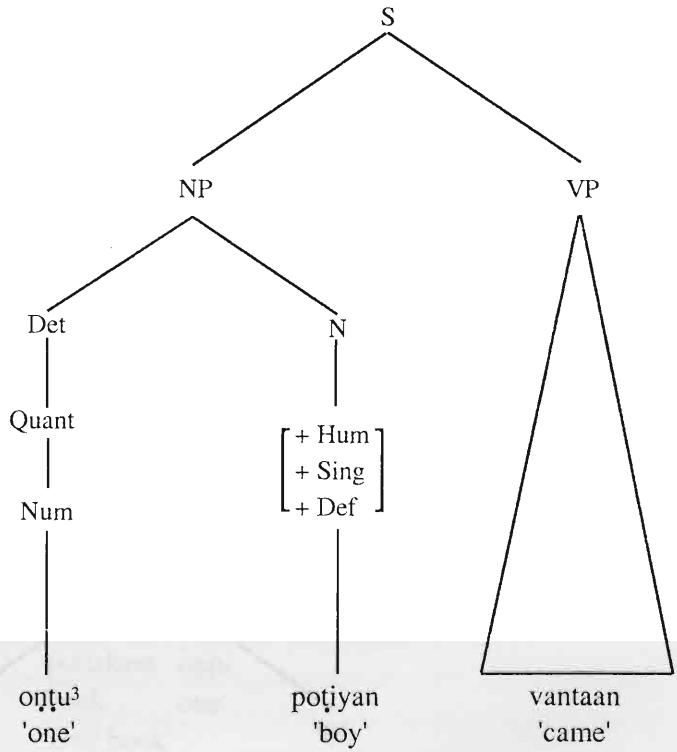
(10.T)	oru	poṭiyan	taan	vantaan
	one	boy	emph	came
	'Only one boy came'			

It is clear from the above examples that the indefinite article *oru* and the quantifier *oru* are different categories though they have identical form in the surface structure. Thus, the sentence (4.T) has two different deep structures (11. T) and (12.T) in which (11.T) for the article interpretation and (12.T) for the quantifier interpretation.

(11.T)



(12.T)



4.1.4 Indefinite Article in Sinhala

We find a significant difference between Tamil and Sinhala regarding the indefinite article. In Tamil, the indefinite article always occurs before the noun as a separate unit. In contrast to this in Sinhala the indefinite article always occurs after the noun or the noun plus quantifier as a suffix. First let us consider the Sinhala equivalents (4.S) and (5.S) of the Tamil sentence (4.T) and (5.T).

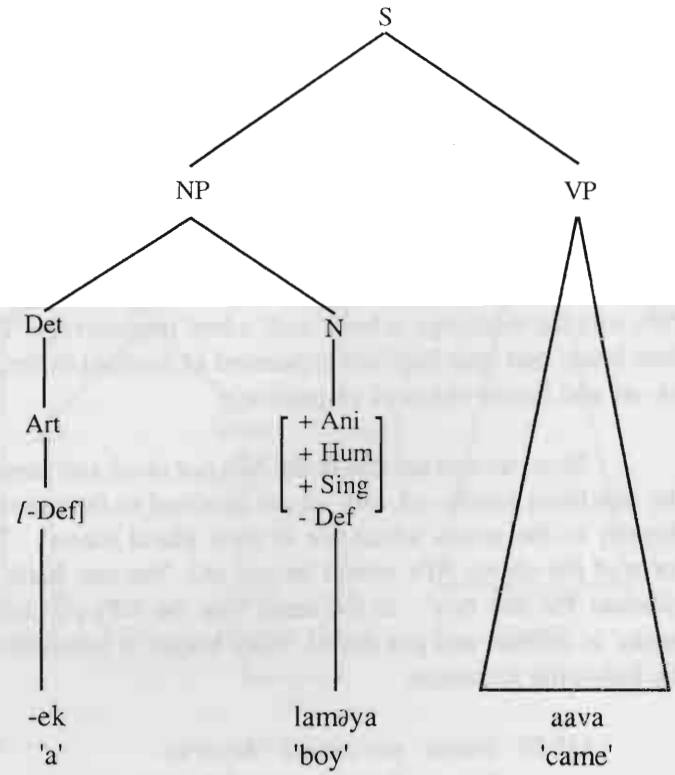
(4.S) lamðy -ek aava
boy a came
'A boy came'

3. In the surface structure oṇṭu + N → oru + N by a Morphophonemic rule.

(5.S) mamə *navəkataav-ak* kiyevva
I novel a read
'I read a novel'

In the above sentences the two variants *-ek* and *-ak* of the indefinite article are suffixed to the nouns *lamə́ya* and *navəkataavə* respectively. The deep structure of (4.S) would be (13.S).

(13.S)



To derive (4.S) from (13.S) we have to apply a transformation namely Indefinite Article Shift which shifts the article to the postnominal position and attaches it to the noun as the suffix. The rule would be in the following form.

T. Indefinite Article Shift

SD:	X	-	Art	-	N	(Q)	-	X	⇒
			[-Def]						
	1		2			3		4	
SC:	1	3 + 2	4						

Q = Cardinals, Fraction or Non- definite quanfifiers.

After applying the Indefinite Article shift and appropriate phonological rules we get the surface structure (14.S).

(14.S) lamǝyek aava
a boy came

In Tamil, we have observed a formal resemblance between the indefinite article *oru* and the quantifier *oru* which leads to an ambiguity in the construction like *oru pottakam* and *oru poṭiyan.* This type of ambiguity does not arise as far as the Sinhala equivalents *potak* and *lamǝyek* are concerned. They can be interpreted only as indefinite NPs with the meanings ' a book' and ' a boy' respectively. The meaning 'one book' and 'one boy' are expressed in Sinhala differently as *pot ek -ak* and *lamay ekken-ek* respectively.

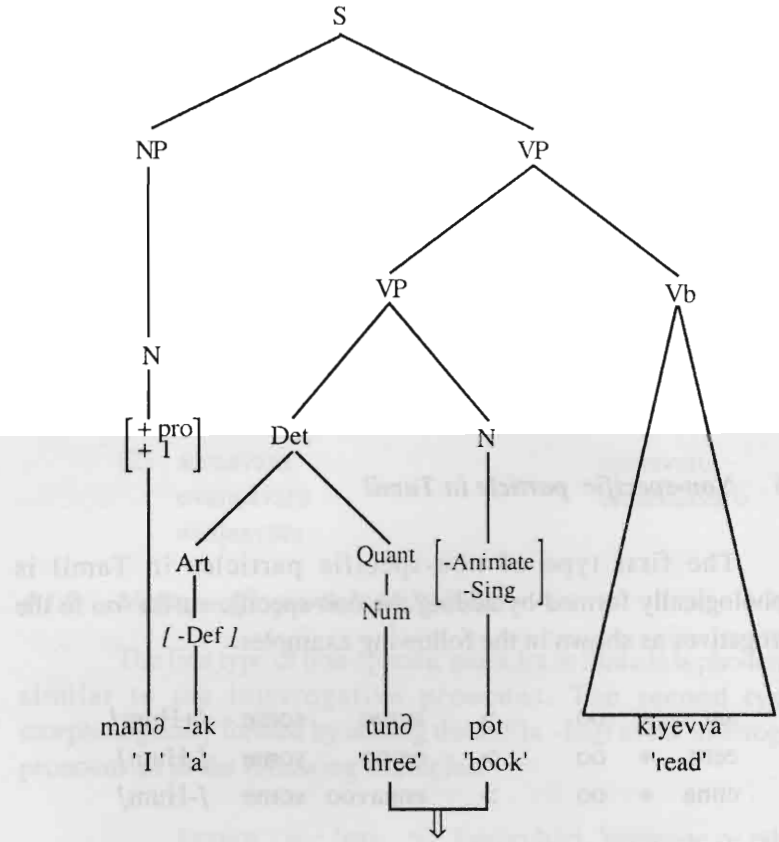
Now, we can see that in the NPs *pot ek-ak* and *lamay ekken-ek,* the indefinite article *-ak* and *-ek* are attached to the numeral, but not directly to the nouns which are in their plural forms[4]. The definite form of the above NPs would be *pot ekǝ* 'the one book' and *lamay ekkenaa* 'the one boy'. In the same way the NPs *pot tunǝ* 'the three books' is definite and *pot tun-ak* 'three books' is indefinite. Consider the following sentences.

(15.S) mamǝ *pot tun-ak* kiyǝvva
I book three-indef. read
'I read three books'

4. In Sinhala the numeral *ekǝ* 'one' always follow the plural form of the noun. However, it can also precede the singular form of the noun (See section 3.4.2).

The deep structure of (15.S) would be (16.S). To derive (15.S) from (16.S) we have to apply two transformations viz. Quantifier Shift and Indefinite Article Shift in that order as shown in (16.S).

(16.S)



4.1.5 Non - specific particle

The category non-specific particle (Nonsp) which occurs optionally before the indefinite NP in both Tamil and Sinhala makes the indefinite NP non-specific. There are two types of non-specific particles in both the languages. They differ in their forms and meanings. Hence, the category non-specific is expanded as follows.

RTS (25) Nonsp → $\begin{bmatrix} \text{Nonsp}_1 \\ \\ \text{Nonsp}_2 \end{bmatrix}$

RT (26) Nonsp_1 → aaroo, eetoo, ennavoo, etc.
RT (27) Nonsp_2 → aaraavatu, eetaavatu, ennavaavatu, etc
RS (28) Nonsp_1 → kavudə, mokekdə, mokakdə, etc.
RS (29) Nonsp_2 → kavuṟuhaṟi, kokekhaṟi,
mokakhaṟi, etc.

4.1.6 Non-specific particle in Tamil

The first type of non-specific particles in Tamil is morphologically formed by adding the non-specific suffix *-oo* to the interrogatives as shown in the following examples.

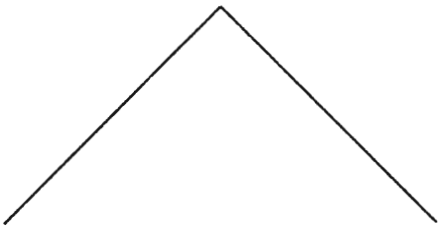
aar	+	oo	>	aaroo	some	*[+Hum]*
eetu	+	oo	>	eetoo	some	*[-Hum]*
enna	+	oo	>	ennavoo	some	*[-Hum]*

The second type of non-specific particles are formed by adding the suffix *-aavatu* to the interrogatives as in the following examples.

aar	+	aavatu	>	aaraavatu	'someone or other'
eetu	+	aavatu	>	eetaavatu	'something or other'
enna	+	aavatu	>	ennavaavatu	'something or other'

Both the types can be further sub-categorized into human and non-human and they do not show number distinction. The sub-categories are given in the following diagram.

(17.T)



	Human [± Sing]	Non-human [± Sing]
(1)	aaroo evanoo evaḷoo	eetoo ennavoo
(2)	aaraavatu evanaavatu evaḷaavatu	eetaavatu ennavaavatu

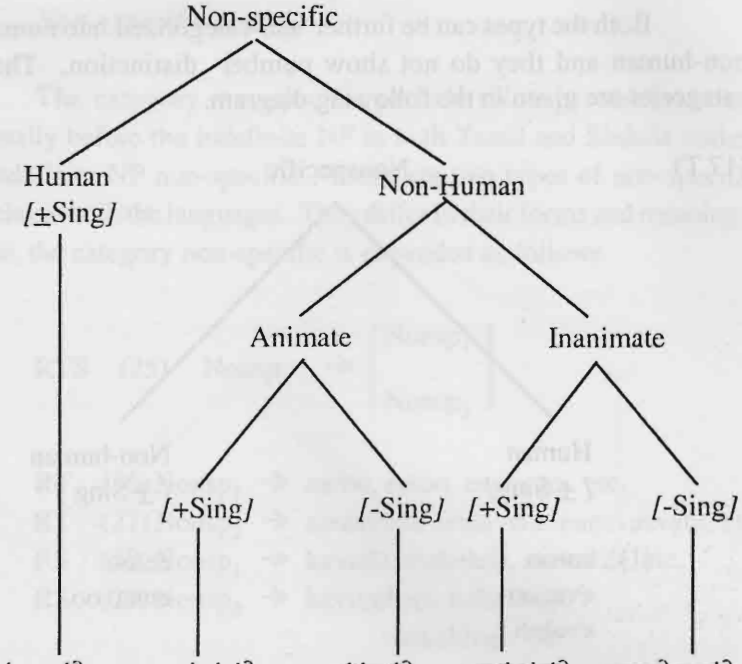
4.1.7 Non-specific particle in Sinhala

The first type of non-specific particles in Sinhala is phonetically similar to the interrogative pronouns. The second type is morphologically formed by adding the suffix - *haṟi* to the interrogative pronouns as in the following examples.

kavuṟu	+	haṟi	>	kavuṟuhaṟi	'someone or other'
mokek	+	haṟi	>	mokekhaṟi	'something or other'
mokak	+	haṟi	>	mokakhaṟi	'something or other'

Both the types of non-specific particles in Sinhala are further sub-categorized into three groups viz. human, non-human animate and inanimate and they show number distinction except the human forms. They are given in the following diagram.

(18.S)



(1)	kavudə	mokekdə	mokkudə	mokakdə	monəvaadə
(2)	kavuṟu-haṟi	mokek-haṟi	mokku-haṟi	mokak-haṟi	monəvaa-haṟi

The diagrams (17.T) and (18.S) show the similarities and the differences between the non-specific particles in Tamil and sinhala. The non-specific human particles behave similarly in both Tamil and Sinhala. They can be considered as one to one equivalents. See the following sentences.

(19.T)	*aaroo*	oru	poṭiyan	vantaan
	some	a	boy	came
(19.S)	*kavudə*		laməyek	aava
	some		boy - a	came
	'Some boy came'			

(20.T)	*aaroo*	reṇṭu	poṭiyanukaḷ	vantaanukaḷ
	some	two	boys	came

(20.S) *kavudə* lamay dennek aava
some boys two came
'Some two boys came'

(21.T) *aaraavatu* oru poṭiyan varuvaan
some a boy will come
(21.S) *kavuṟu-haṟi* lamə̀yek enə̀va
some boy-a will come
'Some boy or other will come'

(22.T) *aaraavatu* poṭiyanukaḷ varuvaanukaḷ
some boys will come
(22.S) *kavuṟuhaṟi* lamay enə̀va
some boys will come
'Some boys or other will come'

The Sinhala non-human animate and inanimate particles do not have separate one to one equivalents in Tamil. The Tamil non-human forms can be considered as equivalents of both the non-human animate and inanimate forms in Sinhala. Consider the following examples.

(23.T) *eetoo* oru naay kolaykkutu
some a dog barking
(23.S) *mokekdə* ball-ek buṟə̀nə̀va
some dog-a barking
'Some dog is barking'

(24.T) avan *eetoo* oru pottakam vaacikkiṟaan
he some a book reading
(24.S) eyaa *mokakdə* potak kiyavə̀nə̀va
he some book-a reading
'He is reading some book'

The type-1 and the type-2 of the non-specific particles in both Tamil and Sinhala differ in their occurrence in a sentence. The type-1 of the particles may occur in a sentence which expresses past, present

or future events. For example, (19.T,S) and (20.T,S) express past events and the following (25.T,S) and (26.T,S) express present and future events respectively.

(25.T)	annaa	*aaroo*	oru	poṭiyan	vaaṟaan
	there	some	a	boy	coming
(25.S)	onnə	*kavudə*	laməyek	enəva	
	there	some	boy-a	coming	
	'Some boy is coming there'				

(26.T)	naaḷaykku	*aaroo*	oru	poṭiyan	varuvaan
	tomorrow	some	a	boy	will come
(26.S)	heṭə	*kavudə*	laməyek		enəva (lu)
	tomorrow	some	boy-a		will come
	'Some boy will come tomorrow'				

But the type 2 of the particles only occurs in a sentence which expresses future events as in (21.T,S) and (22.T,S). The sentences (27.T,S) and (28.T,S) which express past and present events are ungrammatical.

(27.T)	* neettu	*aaraavatu*	oru	poṭiyan	vantaan
	yesterday	some	a	boy	came
(27.S)	* iiye	*kavuṟuhaṟi*	laməyek		aava[5]
	yesterday	some	boy-a		came
	'some boy or other came yesterday'				

(28.T)	* anna	*aaraavatu*	oru	poṭiyan	vaaṟaan
	there	some	a	boy	coming
(28.S)	* onnə	*kavuṟuhaṟi*	laməyek		enəva
	there	some	boy-a		coming
	'Some boy or other is coming there'				

5. Although Sinhala and Tamil behave similarly in this case, there are some instances in connected discourse in sinhala where a sentence like (27.S) is not completely ruled out. Consider for example, *iiye kavuṟuhaṟi laməyek aava eet maṭə mataka nææ* 'some boy or other came yesterday but I couldn't remember'.

The type-1 of the particles does not occur in the imperative sentences while the type-2 of the particles occurs. Thus, (29.T,S) are grammatical and (30.T,S) are ungrammatical.

(29.T)	*aaraavatu*	oru	poṭiyana	kuuppuṭu
	some	a	boy-Acc	call
(29.S)	*kaaṭahaṟi*	laməyekuṭə		añḍəgahənnə
	some	boy-a Dat.		call
	'Call some boy or other'			

(30.T)	* *aaroo*	oru	poṭiyana	kuuppuṭu
	some	a	boy Acc	call
(30.S)	* *kavudə*	laməyekutə		añḍəgahənnə
	some	boy-a	Dat	call
	'Call some boy'			

4.2 Demonstratives

The category demonstrative in both Tamil and Sinhala is expanded in the following rules.

RTS	(30)	Dem	→	{ Proximate, Remote }
RS	(31)	Remote	→	{ Remote-1, Remote -2 }
RT	(32)	Proximate	→	inta
RT	(33)	Remote	→	anta
RS	(34)	Proximate	→	mee
RS	(35)	Remote -1	→	oyə
RS	(36)	Remote- 2	→	ee, aṟə

The demonstrative determiners in Tamil and Sinhala are given in the following Table for comparison.

Table -I

Demonstrative	Sinhala	Tamil
Proximate	mee	inta
Remote-1	oyə	anta
Remote-2	ee arə	

The above Table shows that Tamil makes a two way deictic distinction while Sinhala makes a three way distinction[6]. The remote-1 demonstrative in sinhala refers to those away from the speaker, but near to the hearer. The remote-2 demonstratives refer to those away from both the speaker and the hearer. The demonstratives in both Tamil and Sinhala do not show number distinction. They can occur with singular and plural nouns. Consider the following sentences.

(31.T) *inta* pottakam nallatu
(31.S) *mee* potə hoñday
this book good
'This book is good'

(32.T) *inta* pottakaṅkaḷ nallatu
(32.S) *mee* Pot hoñday
these books good
'These books are good'

(33.T) *anta* poṭiyan neettu vantaan
(33.S) *arə/ee* lamaya iiye aava
that boy yesterday came
'That boy came yesterday'

6. In Modern Tamil, only the Jaffna dialect preserves the three way deictic distinction. See also Foot-note 7 in Chap.3 (P.77)

(34.T) *anta* poṭiyanukaḷ neettu vantaanukaḷ
(34.S) *aṟəʔee* lamay iiye aava
those boys yesterday came
'Those boys came yesterday'

The Sinhala form *oyə* has no exact equivalent in Tamil[7]. The remote demonstractive *anta* in Tamil can be partially equated with *oyə*. For example, to translate the Sinhala sentence (35.S)

(35.S) *oyə* potə hoṉ̄day
that book good
'That book (near you) is good'

into Tamil one has to use the demonstrative *anta*, which does not convey the exact meaning. Thus, (35.T) is only a partial equivalent of (36.S).

(35.T) *anta* pottakam nallatu
that book good
'That book is good'

The NP *anta pottakam* in Tamil does not specifically mean the book near to the hearer. To convey the exact meaning of (35.S) in Tamil one may use (36.T), in which a non-restrictive relative clause is used to convey the meaning 'near you'.

(36.T) *onakku kiṭṭa irukkiṟa anta* pottakam nallatu
You-Dat near be-RP that book good
'That book, which is near to you is good'

The remote demonstrative *anta* in Tamil and the remote-2 demonstrative *ee* and *aṟə* in Sinhala are also used for anaphoric reference as in the following sentences.

7. The demonstrative *unta* in the Jaffna dialect of Tamil can be considered as the exact equivalent of the Sinhala form *oyə*.

(37.T) maamaa *oru peena* tantaar; anta peena nallaa eḻututu
uncle a pen gave that pen well writes

(37.S) maama *pæ ænak* dunna; *aṟə/ee p æ ænen* hoñdəṭə liyəvənəva
uncle pen-a gave that pen-Inst. well writes
'Uncle gave me a pen. That pen writes well'

4.3 Quantifiers

The category quantifier in Tamil and Sinhala is expanded in the following rules.

RTS (37) Quant → { ({ Enumerative / (Nondefinite Quant) / Aggregative }) Limiter Agre.Suf. }

RTS (38) Enumerative → Numeral (measure)

RTS (39) Numeral → { ({ Proximate / Ordinal }) Cardinal / (Cardinal) (Fraction) / Ordinal / Distributive }

RTS (40) Cardinal →

T	S	
oṇṭu	ekə	'one'
reṇṭu	dekə	'two'
muuṇu	tunə	'three'
pattu	dahəyə	'ten'
irupatu	vissə	'twenty'
nuuṟu	siiyə	'hundred'
aayiram	daahə	'thousand'
leccam	laksəyə	'lakh'
kooṭi	kooṭi	'crore'
etc.	etc.	

RTS (41) Ordinal →

T	S	
motalaam / motalaavatu	paləvani	'first'
reṇṭaam / reṇṭaavatu	deveni	'second'
muuṇaam/ muuṇaavatu	tunveni	'third'
pattam / pattaavatu	dahəveni	'tenth'
etc	etc	

RTS (42) Fraction →

T	S	
kaal	kaalə	'one forurth'
ara	baagəyə	'half'
mukkaal	tunkaalə	'three fourth'
etc	etc	

RTS (43) Distributive →

T	S	
ovvoṇṭu	ekəekə	'one by one'
revveṇṭu	dekədekə	'two by two'
mummuuṇu	tunətunə	'three by three'

RTS (44) Measure

T	S	
raattal	raattələ	'pound'
poottal	bootəlee	'bottle'
kilo	kiloo	'kilo'
yaar	yaarə	'yard'
etc.	etc.	

RTS (45) Aggregative →

T	S	
ellaa..um	okkomə	'all'
cakala..um	seerəmə	'all'
muḷu..um	mulu..mə	'all/the whole'
ovvoru..um	hæmə..mə	'every'

RTS (46) Approximate →

T	S	
kiṭṭattaṭṭa		
eerakkoraya	vitərə	'approximately'

cumaar		
maṭṭila		'about'

RTS (47) Non definite Quant →

T	S	
koncam	ṭikə	'a little'
cila	kiipə	'several/few'
eeraaḷam	huṉgə	'many/much'
etc.	etc.	

RTS (48) Limiter →

T	S	
maṭṭum	vitə̲ray	'only'
maattiram		
aavatu	vat	'atleast/even'
kuuṭa		

RTS (49) Aggre. Suf. →

T	S	
-um	-mə	'all'

4.3.1 Position of the Quantifiers in the NP

Tamil and Sinhala have the same sub-categories of quantifiers and they show some similarities and differences in their surface syntax.

Quantifiers in both Tamil and Sinhala have no fixed position in the surface structure of the NP. Some quantifiers occur only in prenominal position, some in postnominal position and some in either position. For example, the ordinals in both Tamil and Sinhala always occur prenominally. The limiters in both the languages always occur postnominally. Other sub-categories of quantifiers in Tamil may occur in either position. But Sinhala behaves differently. In sinhala, the sub-category enumerative, except ordinal always occurs in the postnominal position. (for a few exceptions see pp. 121-123). Some other quantifiers in Sinhala may occur postnominally or prenominally.

To account for these variations in positional occurrence, we formulate the following transformational rule, the Quantifier Shift. This rule is applicable to both Tamil and sinhala, but the conditions for the application differ.

T. Quantifier Shift

SD: x - y - N - x $\Rightarrow$
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 3 2 4
Y = Any subcategory of the quantifier.

Conditions for Tamil

(1) Obligatory when the Y is limiter
(2) Inapplicable when the Y is ordinal
(3) Optional otherwise.

Conditions for Sinhala

(1) Obligatory when the Y contains limiter, cardinal, fraction, measure and approximate.
(2) Inapplicable when the y is ordinal and hæmə..mə , mulu..mə, samə̆harə̆ and kisimə
(3) Optional otherwise.

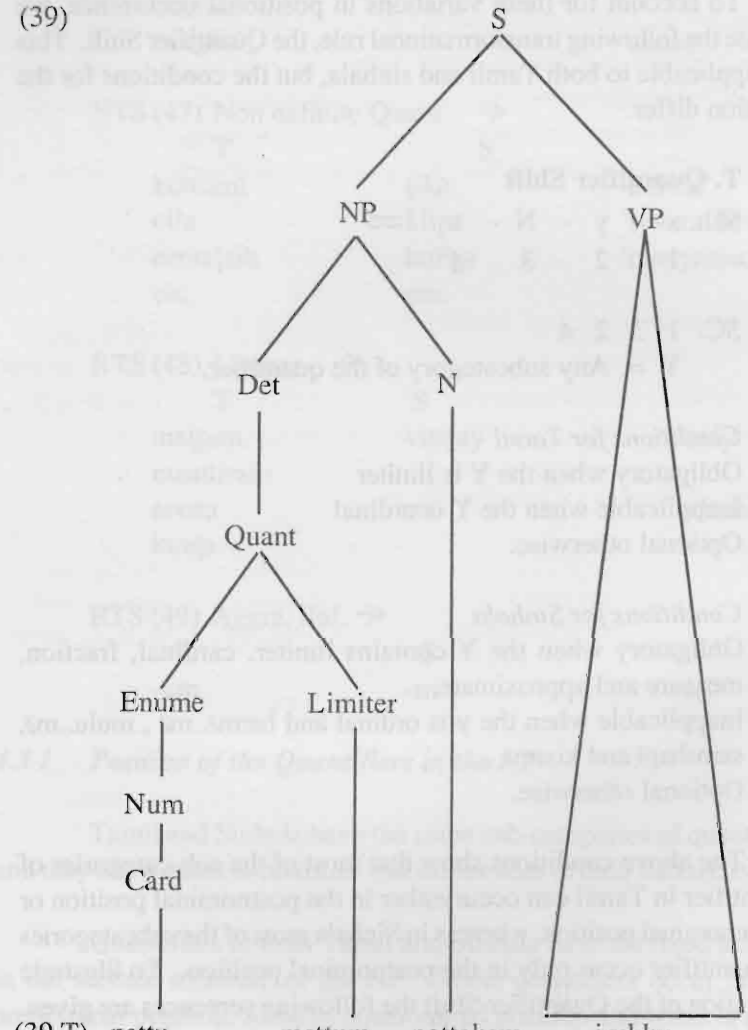
The above conditions show that most of the sub-categories of the quantifier in Tamil can occur either in the postnominal position or in the prenominal position, whereas in Sinhala most of the subcategories of the quantifier occur only in the postnominal position. To illustrate the operation of the Quantifier Shift the following sentences are given.

(38.T)	pattu	pottakam	mat̤t̤um	irukku
	ten	book	only	be
(38.S)	pot	dahəyə	vitə̆rak	tiyenəva
	book	ten	only	be

'Only the ten books are there'

The deep structure of (38.T) and (38.S) would be (39).

(39)



(39.T)	pattu	mat̤t̤um	pottakam	irukku
(39.S)	dahəyə	vitə̱rak	pot	tiyenəva
	'ten'	'only'	'book'	'be'

The rule Quantifier Shift operates differently to derive (38.T) and (38.S) from (39). The rule obligatorily shifts the category limiter to the postnominal position to derive (38.T) from (39), whereas the rule

obligatorily shifts the whole Quant. category to the postnominal position to derive (38.S) from (39). Hence, the surface structure of (38.T) and (38.S) would be (40.T) and (40.S) respectively.

(40.T)	pattu	pottakam	maṭṭum	irukku
	'ten'	'books' 'only'	'be'	
(40.S)	pot	dahəyə	vitərak	tiyenəva
	'books'	'ten'	'only'	'be'

The similarities and the differences between the subcategories of the quantifier in Tamil and Sinhala are discussed in the following sections.

4.3.2 Cardinals

The cardinals in Sinhala always occur after the noun in the NP. Since the cardinals follow the noun, the definite and the indefiniteness of the noun are manifested in the cardinals. Hence, every cardinal (and most of the other quantifiers too) in sinhala has definite and indefinite forms which are totally absent in Tamil. Consider the following examples.

Tamil	**Sinhala**		
	Definite	*Indefinite*	
oṇṭu	ekə	ekak	'one'
reṇṭu	dekə	dekak	'two'
ancu	pahə	pahak	'five'
pattu	dahəyə	dahəyak	'ten'
nuuṟu	siiyə	siiyak	'hundred'

Thus, the following NPs (41.S) and (42.S) have only one equivalent (41/42.T) in Tamil.

(41.S)	pot	dahəyə
	books	ten
	'The ten books'	

(42.S) pot dahəy-ak
book ten-ak
'ten books'

(41/42.T) pattu pottakam
ten books
'Ten books'

Though, there are no parallel definite and indefinite forms of cardinals in Tamil as in Sinhala, the indefinite article *oru* can be used to indefinitivize the noun with numeral. Thus, the NP (43.T) can be considered as partial equivalent of (42.S).

(43.T) oru pattu pottakam
a ten book
'Some ten books'

It has already been observed that the cardinals in Tamil may precede or follow the noun. When the cardinal follows the noun which has a feature specification *[+Hum]* it should take the suffix *-peer* obligatorily. When the quantifier is the nondefinite *cila* or *pala* it may optionally take the suffix *-r* instead of *-peer*. If the quantifier is *oru*, it takes obligatorily the PNG marker of the noun which precedes the quantifier. The quantifiers which occur after the non-human noun do not take any suffix. See the following examples.

(44.T) muuṇu aaciriyarkaḷ
three teachers
(44.Ta) aaciriyarkaḷ muuṇu-peer
teachers three-peer
'Three teachers'

(45.T) cila aaciriyarkaḷ
some teachers
(45.Ta) aaciriyarkaḷ cila-peer
teachers some-peer

(45.Tb) aaciriyarkaḷ cila-r
teachers some
'some teachers'

(46.T) oru aaciriyar
one teacher
(46.Ta) aaciriyar oru-tt-ar
teacher one-ar
'One teacher'

(47.T) oru maaṇavan
one male student
(47.Ta) maaṇavan oru-tt-an
male student one-an
'One male student'

(48.T) oru maaṇavi
one female student
(48.Ta) maaṇavi oru-tt-i
female student one-i
'One female student'

To account for this fact the following transformational rule is formulated.

T. The Suffix - *peer* Attachment

SD: X - N - Quant - x $\Rightarrow$
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 2 3 + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{-peer} \\ \text{- r} \\ \text{PNG} \end{matrix} \right\}$ 4

Conditions

(1) N should have the feature *[+Hum]*
(2) PNG should be selected only after *oru*

(3) *-peer/-r* can be selected only after *cila* and *pala.*
(4) *-peer* should be selected elsewhere.

The cardinals in Sinhala behave differently. They always occur postnominally. when they follow the animate nouns they take the suffix *-denaa* obligatorily and the indefinite article *-ek* is attached to the-*denaa* suffix. The cardinals that follow the inanimate nouns do not take this suffix. The suffix *-denaa* is attached to the base form of the numerals. If the numerals are *ekə* and *dekə* which have the base forms *ek-* and *de-* respectively a morphophonemic rule changes the phonetic shape of the suffix *-denaa* as shown below.

ek + denaa → ekkenaa
de + denaa → denna

with the other numerals the suffix does not undergo any change. See the following NPs.

(49.S) minissu ek- *kenaa*
man one-kenaa
'The one man'

(50.S) guruvərु de-*nnaa*
teachers two-nnaa
'The two teachers'

(51.S) ballo pas-*denaa*
dogs five -denaa
'The five dogs'

(52.S) lamay tun *-den*-ek
boys threeden-ek
'Three boys'

(53.S) pot *tun*-ak
book three-ak
'Three books'

The other quantifiers that follow animate nouns also take the suffix *-denaa* as shown in the following examples.

(54.S) lamay ṭikə - *denaa*
boys few - denaa
'The few boys'

(55.S) ballo huñgə - *denek*
dogs many - denek
'Many dogs'

To account for these facts the following transformational rule is formulated.

T. The Suffix - *denaa* Attachment

SD: X - N - Quant - X ⇒
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 2 3 + denaa 4

Condition

N should have the feature *[+Animate]*

Here we find that Tamil maintains human and non-human distinction while Sinhala maintains animate and inanimate distinction. Consider the following equivalents.

(56.T) naan *pottakam* *muunu* vaankinan
(56.S) mamə *pot tunak* milaṭə gatta
I book three bought
'I bought three books'

(57.T) enna *naaykaḷ* *muuṇu* turatti vanticci
I Acc dogs three chasing came
(57.S) mampassen ballo *tun-denek* eləvəgənə aava
I back Inst dogs three-denek chasing came
'Three dogs came chasing me'

(58.T) aaciriyarkaḷ *muuṇu -peer* vantaanka

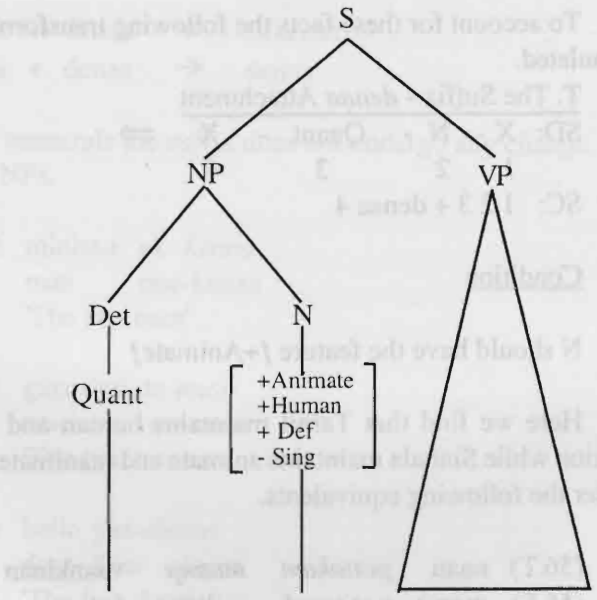
(58.S) guṟuvəṟu *tun-denaa* aava

teachers three came

'Three teachers came'

The operation of *-peer* and *-denaa* Suffix Attachment could be explained as follows. The deep structure of (58.T) and (58.S) would be roughtly (59).

(59)



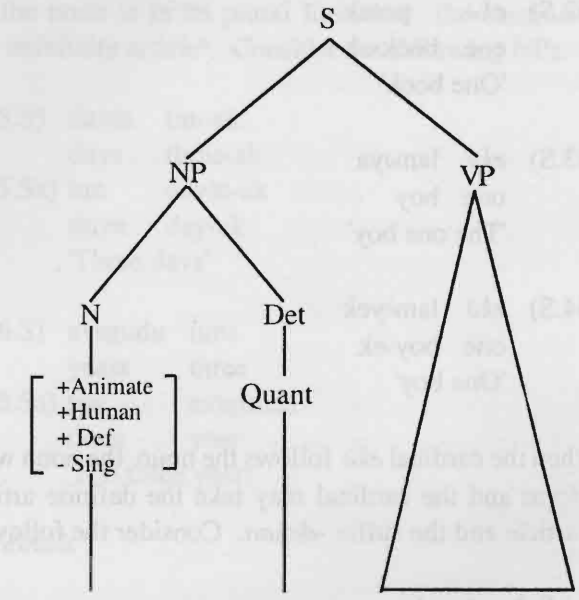
(59.T) muuṇu aaciriyarkaḷ vantaanka

(59.S) tunə guṟuvəṟu aava

'three' 'teachers' 'came'

To derive (58.T) and (58.S) from (59), first, the rule Quantifier Shift is applied and we get the intermediate structure (60).

(60)



(60.T)	aaciriyarkaḷ	muuṇu	vantaanka
(60.S)	guṟuvəṟu	tunə	aava
	'teachers'	'three'	'came'

Secondly, the Suffix *-peer* Attachment rule is applied to (60.T) and we get the surface sentence (58.T). To (60.S), the rule Suffix *-denaa* Attachment is applied. After *-denaa* attachment a morphophonemic rule changes the form *tunə* + *denaa* into *tundenaa* and we get the surface sentence (58.S).

Though the cardinals in Sinhala always occur postnominally, there are a few exceptions. (1) The cardinal *ekə* 'one' can also optionally occur in the prenominal position with any noun. When the cardinal precedes the noun it would be in its definite form and the noun may take the definite article or the indefinite article. Consider the following NPs.

(61.S)	*ek ə*	potə
	one	book
	'The one book'	

(62.S) *ekə* potak
one book-ak
'One book'

(63.S) *ekə* lamə̀ya
one boy
'The one boy'

(64.S) *ekə* lamə̀yek
one boy-ek
'One boy'

When the cardinal *ekə* follows the noun, the noun would be in its plural form and the cardinal may take the definite article or the indefinite article and the suffix *-denaa*. Consider the following NPs.

(61.Sa) pot *ekə*
book one
'The one book'

(62.Sa) pot *ekak*
book one-ak
'One book'

(63.Sa) lamay *ek-kenaa*
boy one-kenaa
'The one boy'

(64.Sa) lamay *ek-kenek*
boy one-kenek
'One boy'

(2) Temporal nouns like *davə̀sə* 'day', *sumaanə* 'week', *maasə* 'month', *avuṟuddə* 'year', etc., can be preceded or followed by any cardinal. When the cardinal precedes the noun, the noun is in its

singular definite or indefinite form, whereas when the cardinal follows the noun, the noun is in its plural form and the cardinal takes the definite or indefinite article[8]. Consider the following NPs.

(65.S) davəs tun-ak
days three-ak
(65.Sa) tun davəs-ak
three day-ak
'Three days'

(66.S) avuṟudu tunə
years three
(66.Sa) tun avuṟuddə
three year
'The three years'

4.3.3 Ordinals

The ordinals are structurally similar in Tamil and Sinhala and are formed by adding the ordinal suffixes to the cardinals and always occur prenominally in both the languages.

In Tamil, there are two ordinal suffixes, *-aam* and *-aavatu* and both are free variants[9]. *-veni* is the ordinal suffix in Sinhala. The cardinal *oṇṭu* ' one' in Tamil and *ekə* 'one' in Sinhala have the variants *motal* and *palə* respectively which take the ordinal suffixes. Thus, a morphophonemic rule changes the forms as follows.

T. oṇṭu + aam → motalaam 'first'
S. ek + veni → paləveni 'first'

8. In Sinhala, the cardinal always follows the plural form of the noun and when it precedes the noun, the noun is always in its singular form.

9. However, there is an exception for this. With the nouns *tikati* 'date' and *vakuppu* 'class' only the *-aam* ending ordinals can occur. e.g. *motalaam tikati* '1st day' *reṇṭaam tikati* '2nd day', motalaam vakuppu '1st class', *reṇṭaam vakuppu* '2nd class', etc.

In Tamil, the stem form *motal* itself can also be used as ordinal without the ordinal suffix. But it Sinhala, the stem form *palə* always occurs with the suffix - *veni.* Thus, the Sinhala NP (67.S) has three formal correspondences in Tamil.

(67.S)	paləveni	tyaagəyə
(67.T)	motal	paricu
(67.Ta)	motalaam	paricu
(67.Tb)	motalaavatu	paricu
	first	prize

'The first prize'

The question for ordinal is formed by adding the ordinal suffix *-aam* or *-aavatu* to the question word *ettina* 'how many' in Tamil. Thus, *ettinayaam* or *ettinayaavatu* 'how many-th' is used as interrogative in Tamil. Similarly, in Sinhala the question for ordinal is formed by adding the suffix *-veni* to the question word *kiiyə* 'how many' dropping the last syllable *-yə.* Thus, *kiiveni* ' how many-th' is used as interrogative ordinal in Sinhala. Consider the following examples.

(68.T)	nii	*ettinayaam*	vakuppu	paṭikkiṟaay
	you	how many-th	class	studying
(68.S)	oyaa	*kiiveni*	pantiyedə	igenəganne
	you	how many-th	class-Loc.Q.	studying

'In which class are you studying?'

4.3.4 Measure

Measure always occurs with the numerals in both Tamil and Sinhala and form the measure phrase. However, Tamil and Sinhala differ regarding the position of the measure in the NP. In Tamil, the numeral always precedes the measure, whereas in Sinhala, the numeral always follows the measure in the surface structure. In Tamil, the enumerative as a whole can precede or follow the noun head, whereas in Sinhala, it always follows the noun head in the NP. Thus, in Tamil the surface configurations (69.T) and (69.Ta) are found, but in Sinhala, only (70.S) is found.

(69.T) $_{NP}$[Num + Meas + N]
(69.Ta) $_{NP}$[N + Num + Meas]

(70.S) $_{NP}$[N + Meas + Num]

Consider the following NPs.

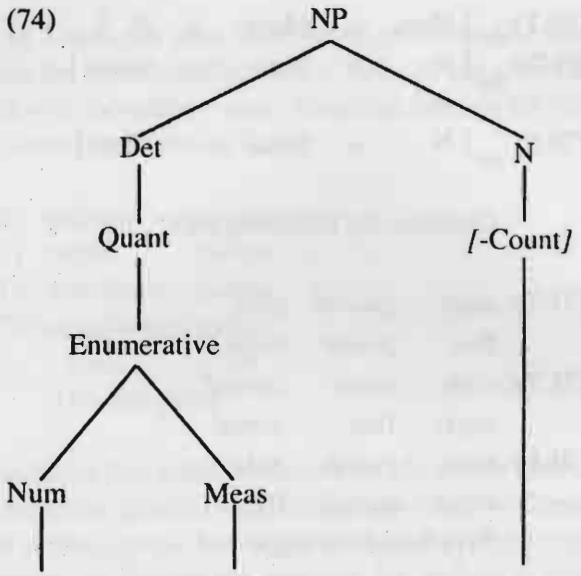
(71.T) *ancu* *r̲aattal* ciini
five pound sugar
(71.Ta) ciini *ancu* *r̲aattal*
sugar five pound
(71.S) siini *r̲aatəl* *pahə*
sugar pound five
'Five founds of sugar'

(72.T) *reṇṭu* *kilo* paruppu
two kilo dhal
(72.Ta) paruppu *reṇṭu* *kilo*
dhall two kilo
(72.S) parippu *kiloo* *dekə*
dhal kilo two
'Two kilos of dhall'

(73.T) *muuṇara* *poottal* laampeṇṇa
three-half bottle kerosene
(73.Ta) laampeṇṇa *muuṇara* *poottal*
kerosene three half bottle
(73.S) buumitel *bootəl* *tuṇay* *baagəyay*
kerosene bottle three-y half-y
'Three and a half bottle of kerosene'

The deep structure of the NP (71.T), (71.Ta) and (71.S) would be (74).

(74)



(74.T)	ancu	raattal	ciini
(74.S)	pahə	raatəl	siini
	'five'	'pounds'	'sugar'

The surface structure for (71.T) is basically the same as its deep structure (74). But to derive (71.Ta) from (74) we have to apply the Quantifier Shift which shifts the quantifier category as a whole to the postnominal position and we get the surface NP (75.T) and (75.Ta) respectively.

(75.T) $_{NP}[$ ancu 'five' raattal 'pound' ciini 'sugar' $]$

(75.Ta) $_{NP}[$ ciini 'sugar' ancu 'five' rattal 'pound' $]$
'Five pounds of sugar'

However, to derive (71.S) from (74) we have to apply the rule Quantifier Shift in an ordered manner. First, the category measure is shifted to the postnominal position and then the category numeral is shifted and we get the surface NP (75.S).

(75.S) NP[siini ṟaatəl pahə]
'sugar' 'pound' 'five'
'Five pounds of sugar'

4.3.5 Approximate

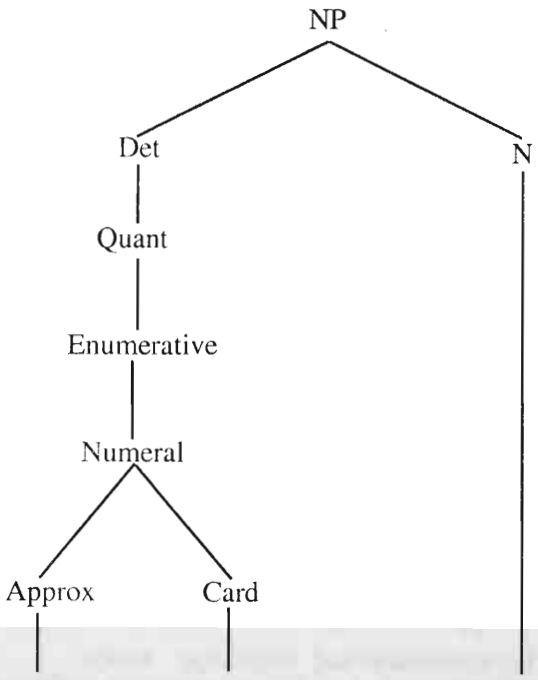
In Tamil, we find four forms of approximate in which the form *maṭṭila* 'about' occurs in the postnominal position after the numeral or the nominal head and the other forms, *kiṭṭattaṭṭa, eeṟakkoṟaya* and *cumaar* occur in either position and the numeral always follows them. In contrast to this, in Sinhala, we find only one form of approximate *viəṟə* and it always occurs in the postnominal position and the numeral precedes it. Consider the following NPs.

(76.T) *kiṭṭattaṭṭa* nuuṟu tennamaramkaḷ
approximately hundred coconut trees
(76.Ta) tennamaramkaḷ *kiṭṭattaṭṭa* nuuṟu
coconut trees approximately hundred
(76.S) polgas siiyak *viəṟə*
coconut tree hundred approximately
'Approximately hundred coconut trees'

(77.T) toḷilaaḷikaḷ ampatupeer *maṭṭila*
workers fifty-peer about
(77.Ta) ampatu toḷilaḷikaḷ maṭṭila
fifty workers about
(77.S) kamkaṟuvo panəs-denek *viəṟə*
workers fifty-denek about
'About fifty workers'

The deep structure of the NPs (76.T), (76.Ta) and (76.S) would be roughly (78).

(78)



(78.T)	kiṯṯattaṯṯa	nuuṟu	tennamaramkaḷ
(78.S)	vitəṟə	siiyak	polgas
	'approximately'	'hundred'	'coconut trees'

The surface structure for (76.T) is basically the same as its deep structure (78). But to derive (76.Ta) from (78) the Quantifier Shift shifts the quantifier category to the postnominal position and to derive (76.S) from (78) first, the cardinal is shifted to the postnominal position and then the approximate is shifted. Thus, we get the different surface configurations (79.T), (79.Ta) and (79.S) respectively.

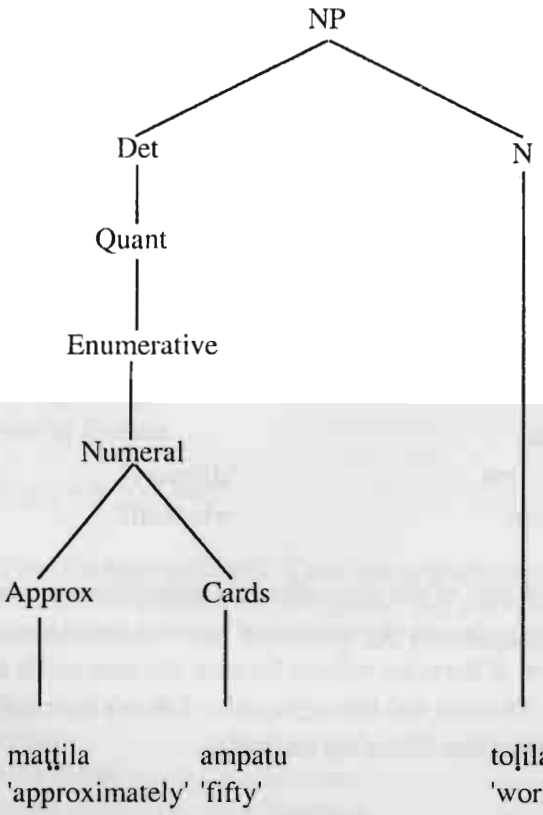
(79.T)	[	kiṯṯattaṯṯa	nuuṟu	tennamaramkaḷ]
NP	[	(Approx)	(card)	(N)]

(79.Ta)	[	tennamaramkaḷ	kiṯṯattaṯṯa	nuuṟu]
NP	[	(N)	(Approx)	(card)]

(79.S) $_{NP}[$ polgas siiyak vitərə $]$
(N) (Card) (Approx)
'Approximately hundred coconut trees

(77.T) and (77.Ta) are derived differently. The deep structure for (77.T) and (77.Ta) would be (80) which is similar to (78).

(80)



To derive (77.T) from (80) first, the cardinal is shifted to the postnominal position. Secondly, the Suffix *-peer* Attachment is operated and finally, the category Approx. is shifted. To derive (77.Ta) from (80) only the category Approximate is shifted to the postnominal position. The derivation of (77.S) is similar to the derivation of (76.S). However, in addition, we have to apply the *denaa* Attachment rule.

4.3.6 Aggregative

Aggregatives in Tamil and Sinhala show some similarities. Both the languages have discontinuous, post and prenominal aggregatives.

(1) The following are discontinuous aggregatives in Tamil and Sinhala.

Tamil	
ellaa...um	'all'
cakala...um	'all'
muḻu...um	'all/whole'
ovvoru...um	'every'
ivaḻavu...um	'all these'
avaaḻavu...um	'all those'

Sinhala	
hæmə.... mə	'all/every'
mulu...mə	'whole/all'

The first part of the discontinuous aggregative in both Tamil and Sinhala always occurs in prenominal position and the second part follows the noun. If the noun inflects for case, the case suffix is affixed immediately to the noun and the aggregative follows the casal form of the noun. Consider the following examples.

(81.T) ella...um pottakamkaḻ ⇒ ellaa pottakamkaḻ-um
(81.S) hæmə... mə pot ⇒ hæmə pot -mə
all books 'All the books

(82.T) cakala...um puḻḻaykaḻ ⇒ cakala puḻḻaykaḻ -um
(82.S) hæmə...mə lamay ⇒ hæmə lamay-mə
all children 'All the children'

(83.T) ovvoru...um aaciriyarukku ⇒ ovvoru aaciriyarukk-um
(83.S) hæmə... mə guṟuvərərəyaaṭə ⇒ hæmə guṟuvərərəyaaṭə -mə
every teacher - Dat 'To every teacher'

(84.T) muḷu...um olakattukku ⇒ mulu olakattukk -um
(84.S) mulu...mə looketə ⇒ mulu looketə - mə
whole world -Dat 'To the whole world'

To account for this fact the following obligatory transformational rule is formulated for Tamil and Sinhala.

T. Discontinuous Aggregative Attachment

SD: X - Agre - $\begin{Bmatrix} um \\ mə \end{Bmatrix}$ -N $_{(C)}$ -x ⇒

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 2 4 3 5
-um for Tamil
-mə for Sinhala

$N_{(C)}$ = N + (Case)

(2) When the aggregatives in Tamil occur postnominally both parts of the discontinuous element come together and also show human and non-human distinction. The following are postnominal aggregatives in Tamil.

ellaam	[± Human]
ellaa -r-um	[+ Human]
cakala-r-um	[+ Human]
cakala-t-um	[- Human]
muḷu-t-um	[- Human]
muḷup-peer-um	[+ Human]
ivaḷavum	[- Human, + prox]
avaḷavum	[- Human, - prox]
ivaḷavu - peer-um	[+ Human, + Prox]
avaḷavu - peer-um	[+ Human, - Prox]

Consider the following NPs.

(81.T) puukkaḷ ellaam
flowers all
'All the flowers'

(82.T) puḷḷaykaḷ ellaam
Children all
'All the children'

(83.T) canankaḷ ellaa -r-um
people all
'All the people'

(84.T) caamaan muḷu-t-um
thing all
'All the things'

(85.T) pottakam ivaḷavum
book these-all
'All these books'

(86.T) eḻuttaaḷarkaḷ ivaḷavu-peer-um
writers these - all
'All these writers'

In Sinhala, the agregatives *okkomə* and *seerəmə*, which have the feature specification *[± Animate]* can be considered as equivalents of the above postnominal aggregatives in Tamil. However, the Sinhala forms also occur prenominally. Consider the following equivalents of (81.T) and (82.T).

(81.S) mal *okkomə*
flowers all
(81.Sa) *okkomə* mal
all flowers
'All the flowers'

(82.S) lamay *seer̲əmə*
children all
(82.Sa) *seer̲əmə* lamay
all children
'All the children'

In Tamil the aggregatives never occur pre-nominally, if the head noun has the feature *[+Pro]*. But it is possible in Sinhala. Consider the following examples.

(87.T) niinka *ellaarum*
(87.S) oyaala *okkomə*
you-P1. all

(87.Ta) *ellaa niinkaḷ -um
(87.Sa) *okkomə* oyaala
all you P1.
'All of you'

(88.T) naanka *ellaarum*
(88.S) api *okkomə*
we all

(88.Ta) *ellaa naankaḷ-*um*
(88.Sa) *okkomə* api
all we
'All of us'

(3) In Tamil, there is an aggregative suffix *-um* which always occurs postnominally with card + N - or N + Card phrase. Similar to this in Sinhala there is an aggregative suffix *-mə*, which also always occurs post-nominally with the N + Card- phrase. Consider the following examples.

(89.T) muuṇu pottakam *-um*
three books -all

(89.Ta) pottakam muuṇu *-um*
books three-all
(89.S) pot tunə *-mə*
books three-all
'All the three books'

(90.T) ancu talayvarkaḷ *-um*
five leaders-all
(90.Ta) talayvarkaḷ ancu-peer-*um*
leaders five-peer-all
(90.S) naayəkəyo pas-denaa-*mə*
leaders five-dena-all
'All the five leaders'

(4) There are some aggregatives in Tamil which always occur in negative constructions. The following are such forms in Tamil.

enta...um	*[±Human]*
oru... um	*[±Human]*
aarum	*[+Human]*
oruttarum	*[+Human]*
oṇṭum	*[- Human]*

The discontinuous form *enta...um* and *oru...um* occur prenominally and others occurs postnominally.

In sinhala, the following forms occur in negative constructions as aggregatives.

kisi/kisimə	*[+ Animate]*
kavuṟut	*[+ Human]*
mokut	*[- Animate]*

The forms *kavuṟut* and *mokut* can also occur in positive constructions. In the positive constructions the form *kavuṟut* can also mean 'any one' apart from the aggregative meaning 'every one' and

'all'. The form *mokut* in positive constructions only means 'anything' or 'some-thing'. As aggregatives *kavuṟut* and *mokut* always occur postnominally and *kisi/kisimə* always occur prenominally. Consider the following sentences.

(91.T) ṟooṭṭila *oru* manican-*um* illa
(91.S) paaṟe *kisi* manihek næ æ
road-Loc no one man Neg
'Nobody is on the road'

(92.T) uuṭṭila aakkaḷ *aarum* illa
(92.S) gedəṟe minissu *kavuṟut* næ æ
house-Loc people no one Neg
'No one is in the house'

(93.T) puḷḷaykaḷ *oruttarum* paḷḷikku varalla
(93.S) lamay *kavuṟut* paasələ̣tə aave nææ
children no one school-Dat came -Neg
'No student came to school'

(94.T) intak kaṭayila caamaan *oṉṟum* illa
(94.S) mee kaḍee baḍu *mokut* næ æ
'this shop-Loc things nothing Neg'
'There is nothing in this shop'

4.3.7 Non-definite Quantifiers

Some of the non-definite quantifiers in both Tamil and Sinhala are given in the following Table.

Tamil	Sinhala		
koncam	ṭikə	a few/a little	[±Count]
kanakka	huṉgə	many / a lot of	
cila	kiipə	a few	[+Count]
pala		many	

In both Tamil and Sinhala all of the above quantifiers can occur in post or prenominal position. Consider the following NPs.

(95.T) *koncam* taṇṇi
(95.S) *ṭikak* vaturə
A little water

(95.Ta) taṇṇi *koncam*
(95.Sa) vaturə *ṭikak*
'A little water'

(96.T) kanakka puukkaḷ
(96.S) huñgak mal
'A lot of flowers

(96.Ta) puukkaḷ *kanakka*
(96.Sa) mal *huñgak*
'A lot of flowers'

(97.T) *cila* pottakankaḷ
(97.S) kiipəyakpot
A few books

(97.Ta) pottakankaḷ *cila*
(97.Sa) pot *kiipəyak*
'A few books'

4.3.8 Limiter

The limiter category in both Tamil and Sinhala behave similarly. The limiter forms in both the languages are given in the following table.

Tamil	Sinhala	
mattum maattiram	vitərə vitəray vitərak	only
-aavatu	-vat	at least
-kuuṭa		even

In both the languages the limiter occurs post nominally after other quantifiers if any. In Tamil, the limiter forms *mattum* and *maattiram* are in free variation, whereas in Sinhala, the three forms are in complementary distribution. The form *vitərə* occurs with the question marker *-də* in the interrogative sentences. The form *vitəray* occurs in emphatic statement sentences and the form *vitərak* occurs in non-emphatic statement sentences. Consider the following examples.

(98.S) pot dekak *vitərədə* oyaaṭə tiyenne
books two-ak only-Q you-Dat have
'Do you have only two books?

(99.S) pot dekak *vitəray* maṭə tiyenne
books two-ak only-Y I-Dat have
'I have only two books'

(100.S) pot dekak *vitərak* maṭə tiyenəva
books two-ak only-ak I-Dat have
'I have only two books'

(101.T) enakku reṇṭu pottakam { mattum / *maattiram* / only } irukku
I-Dat two books have
'I have only two books'

The limiters *-aavatu* and *kuuṭa* in Tamil and *-vat* in Sinhala behave similarly. consider the following sentences.

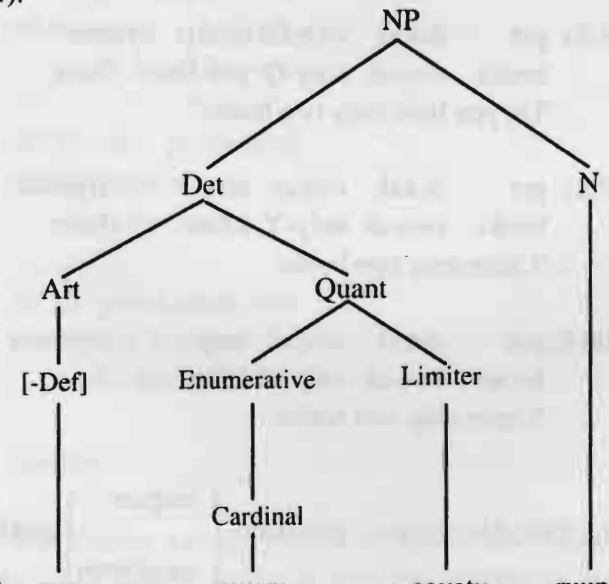
(102.T) enakku oru nuuṟu ruupaa-y-*aavatu* taanka
I-Dat a hundred rupee atleast give

(102.S) maṭə ṟupiyəl siiyak *vat* dennə
I-Dat rupees hundred-ak atleast give
'Give me atleast one hundred rupees'

(103.T) enakkiṭṭa oru ruupa *kuuṭa* illa
I-Loc one ruppe even no
(103.S) maṭə ṟupiyal ekak *vat* næ æ
I-Dat rupee one even no
'Even I do not have one rupee'

The deep structure of the NPs in (102.T) and (102.S) would be (104).

(104).



(104.T) oru nuuṟu -aavatu ruupaay
(104.S) -ak siiyə -vat rupiyəl
'a' 'hundred' 'atleast' 'rupees'

(104.T) and (104.S) differ in their derivational process. To derive (102.T) from (104) we have to apply only one transformation, that is Quantifier Shift which shifts the limiter category to the postnominal position obligatorily. To derive (102.S) from (104), first the category cardinal is shifted to the postnominal position and then the Article Shift is operated. finally, the category limiter is shifted by the rule Quantifier Shift. Thus, we get the surface configuration (105.T) and (105.S) of the NPs in (102.T) and (102.S) respectively.

(105.T) $_{NP}[$ oru nuuṟu ruupaay aavatu $]$

(105.S) $_{NP}[$ ṟupiyəl siiyak vat $]$

'At least one hundred rupees'

CHAPTER 5

RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

A relative clause (RC) is a sentence embedded into the NP to stipulate the reference of the head noun or to give some additional information of the head noun. The relative clause which stipulates the reference of the head noun is called restrictive relative clause (RRC) and the relative clause which merely gives some additional information of the head noun is called non-restrictive relative clause (NRRC) (Stockwell, 1977:59).

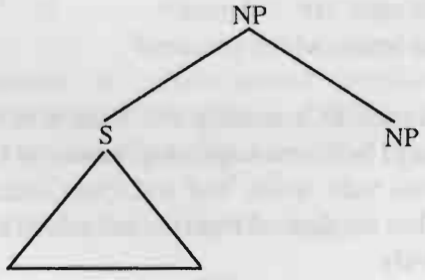
In both Tamil and Sinhala we find structurally three different types of relative clause constructions in the surface level. They are:

1. Participial type
2. Correlative type
3. Tag type

The following PS rule is capable of generating any one of the above RC types in the deep structure.

NP → S NP

Hence, the deep structure configuration of the NP with RC in both Tamil and Sinhala would be as follows:



Different transformational rules are applied to derive the different types of RC construction in the surface structure in both Tamil and Sinhala. They are discussed in the following sections.

5.1 Participial Relative Clause

Participial relative clause (PRC) constructions are almost identical in both Tamil and Sinhala. In the PRC the verb of the embedded sentence is transformed into its relative participial (RP) form and the co-referential NP in the embedded sentence is deleted. The following NPs constitute PRCs.

(1.T) *neettu* *vanta* poṭiyan
(1.S) *iiye* *aapu* lamə̆ya
Yesterday came-RP boy
'The boy who came yesterday'

(2.T) *naan* *paatta* manican
(2.S) *mamə̆* *dækkə̆* miniha
I saw-RP man
'The man whom I saw'

(3.T) *maamaa* *paṭukkiṟa* kaṭṭil
(3.S) *maama* *nidaagannə̆* æñdə̆
uncle sleeps-RP bed
'the bed in which uncle sleeps'

(4.T) *nii* *anuppuṟa* kaṭitankaḷ
(4.S) *oyaa* *evənə̆* liyum
You send -RP letters
'The letters which you send'

The italicized RCs modify the head nouns *poṭiyan 'boy' manican* 'man', kaṭṭil 'bed' and *kaṭitankaḷ* 'letters' in (1.T) - (4.T) and *lamə̆ya* 'boy', *miniha* 'man', *æñdə̆* 'bed' and *liyum* 'letter' in (1.S) - (4.S) respectively and they are derived from the embedded sentences (5.T.S) - (8.T,S) respectively.

(5.T) poṭiyan neettu vantaan
(5.S) lamǝya iiye aava
boy yesterday came
'The boy came yesterday'

(6.T) naan manicana paattan
(6.S) mamǝ minihavǝ dækka
I man-Acc saw
'I saw the man'

(7.T) maamaa kaṭṭilla paṭukkiṟaar
(7.S) maama ændee nidaagannǝva
uncle bed-loc sleeps
'Uncle sleeps in the bed'

(8.T) nii kaṭitankaḷ anuppuṟaay
(8.S) oyaa liyum evǝnǝva
you letters send
'You send letters'

The deep structures of the NPs (1.T,S) and (2.T.S) would be (9) and (10) respectively.

(9.T) [poṭiyan neettu vaa Pt.] poṭiyan
(9.S) NP[S[lamǝya iiye e.Pt.] lamǝya]
boy yesterday came boy

(10.T) [naan manican-Acc paar Pt.] manican
(10.S) NP[S[mamǝ miniha-Acc daki Pt.] miniha]
I man - Acc See Pt. man

The process of relativization involves mainly two transofrmations viz. Equi-NP Deletion[1] and Relative Participialization. These transformations can be applied on an NP if it has an embedded

1. The Equi-NP Deletion includes the case marker.

sentence which has a coreferential NP to the head NP of the matrix sentence. The deep structures (9) and (10) fulfil this condition. Hence, the Equi-NP Deletion and Relative Participialization are applicable to the structure. The transformational rules would be in the following forms.

T. Equi-NP Deletion

$$\text{SD: } X - \underset{NP}{\left[_S\right.}\left[X - NP + - C - X \right] - NP \left.\right] - X \Rightarrow$$

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC : 1 2 4 5 6

Condition : 3 = 5

C = Case

T. Relative Participialization

$$\text{SD : } X - \underset{NP}{\left[_S\right.}\left[X - vb - \right] NP \left.\right] - X \Rightarrow$$

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 2 3 + RP 4 5

vb = Verb root plus tense

The Equi-NP Deletion deletes the coreferential NP of the embedded sentences. If the coreferential NP has a case marker as in the deep structure (10), in which the coreferential NPs have accusative markers, the NP is deleted as a whole with the case marker. Applying the Equi-NP Deletion to the deep structure (9) we get the configuration (11).

$$\underset{NP}{\left[_S\right.}\left[\begin{array}{llll} \text{(11.T)} & \text{neettu} & \text{vaa Pt.} & \text{Poṭiyan} \\ \text{(11.S)} & \text{iiye} & \text{e Pt.} & \text{lamǝya} \\ & \text{Yesterday} & \text{come-Pt} & \text{boy} \end{array}\right.\left.\right]$$

Then, the Relative Participialization attaches the relative participial marker to the main verb and converts the verb into relative participle[2]. Applying this rule to (11) we get the surface strings (12.T) and (12.S).

(12.T) neettu vaa Pt RP poṭiyan
(12.S) iiye e Pt RP lamə́ya

After applying the appropriate phonological rules, which give the phonetic realization of the verbs as

T. vaa + Pt + RP → vanta
S. e + Pt + RP → aapu

finally, we get the surface NPs (1.T) and (1.S). The other NPs are also derived similarly. Thus, we find that the deep structure, the transformational rules which operate on the deep structures and the surface structures (the order of the constituents) of the PRCs in both Tamil and Sinhala are indentical.

5.1.1 *Participial Relative Clause with Indefinite Pronominal Head*

Though, the PRC constructions in both Tamil and Sinhala are indentical, there is a nominal category called participial noun in Tamil, formed with relative participle plus PNG marker which is totally absent in Sinhala. The following are participial nouns in Tamil.

2. The relative participle formation is simple in Tamil. It is invariably formed by adding the RP marker *-a* to the stem with verb root plus tense marker. However, it is somewhat complex in Sinhala. The non-past RP in Sinhala is formed by adding the suffix *-nə́* to the verbal base. For example, the non- past RP of the verb *ka-* 'to eat' is *kanə́*. The past RP is formed by adding the suffix *-ə́* to the past stem of the verb. The past stem of the verb *ka* is *kæævə* - and the past RP is *kæævə́*. Sinhala alos has past perfect RP forms which are formed by adding the suffix *-pu* or *-ccə́* to the past perfect stem of the verb and the occurrence of the suffix is morphologically conditioned. The past perfect stem of the verb is *kaa-* and the past perfect RP is *kaapu*.

1. *vantavan* < vanta + van
   'One (male) who came'
2. vantavaḷ < vanta + vaḷ
   'One (female) who came'
3. *vantavar* < vanta + var
   'One (male Hon.) who came'
4. *vantatu* < vanta + tu
   'That which came'

The PNG markers *-van, vaḷ, -var,* and *-tu* represent pronouns. Thus, it is assumed that a participial NP contains a participial relative clause with a pronominal head. The participial nouns *vantavan* and *vantavaḷ* appear in the following sentences.

(13.T) *neetu vantavan* enṭa naṉpan
Yesterday came RP. M.Sg. I-Gm friend
'He who came yesterday is my friend'

(14.T) *neettu vantavaḷ* enṭa tankacci
Yesterday came-RP F.Sg. I-Gm sister
'She who came yesterday is my sister'

The above sentences with participial NPs as their subjects are semantically similar to (15.T) and (16.T) respectively.

(15.T) oruttan neettu vantaan; avan enṭa naṉpan
Someone (Male) yesterday came he I-Gm friend
'Someone came yesterday and he is my fridend'

(16.T) orutti neettu vantaaḷ; avaḷ enṭa tankacci
Someone (female) yesterday came she I-Gm sister
'Someone came yesterday and she is my sister'

The sentences in (15.T) and (16.T) in turn are derived form the underlying sentences (17.Ta) and (17.Tb), and (18.Ta) and (18.Tb) respectively by the process of pronominalization.

(17.Ta) oruttan neettu vantaan
someone (Male) yesterday came
'Someone (male) came yesterday'
(17.Tb) oruttan enṭa naṉpan
someone (male) I-Gm friend
'Someone (male) is my friend'

(18.Ta) orutti neettu vantaaḷ
someone (female) yesterday came
'Someone (female) came yesterday'
(18.Tb) orutti enṭa tankacci
someone (female) I-Gm sister
'Someone (female) is my sister'

Hence, we can claim that the sentences (13.T) and (14.T) may also be derived from the set of sentences (17.Ta) and (17.Tb), and (18.Ta) and (18.Tb) respectively by some process of transformations. Thus, the derivation of the participial NP *neettu vantavan* in (13.T) can be explained as follows:

The deep structure of (13.T) would be (19.T)

(19.T) [S [NP [S oruttan neettu vaa Pt] oruttan] enṭa naṉpan]
someone yesterday come Pt someone my friend

Applying the Equi-NP deletion and the Relative Participialization to the above deep structure we get the following intermediate structure (20.T)

(20.T) [S [NP [S neettu vanta] oruttan] enṭa naṉpan]
yesterday came RP someone my friend

A third transformation, that is Participial Noun Formation is applied to the above structure to derive (13.T). This transformation replaces the indefinite pronoun *oruttan* in the matrix sentence by the masculine

singular marker *-van* which represents the indefinite pronoun and transforms the relative participle plus indefinite pronoun into participial noun as shown in (21.T) and finally we get the surface sentence (13.T).

(21.T) $_{S}[_{NP}[_{S}[$ neettu vanta $]$ oruttan enṭa naṇpan $]]$

⇓

vantavan
one who came

Annamalai (1972 : 114) points out that the indefinite pronominal head of the participial noun "may also be derived from a full lexical noun through idefinite pronominalization when an indentical noun is present". For example, consider the following sentence.

(22.T) naan vaankina peena nallatu; avan *vaankinatu* kuuṭaatu
I bought-RP pen good; he bought-RP N.Sg. bad
'The pen which I bought is good and which he bought is bad'

In (22.T), the participal noun *vaankinatu* 'the one which bought' is derived from the NP *(avan) vaankina peena* 'the pen which (he) bought' through the process of participial noun formation. Thus we find that the indefinite pronominal head *-tu* in the participial noun *vaankinatu* represents the 'full lexical noun' *peena* 'pen'.

Though, there is no such nominal category called participial noun in Sinhala as Tamil has, there is a parallel type of NPs in Sinhala which constitute relative clauses with indefinite pronominal head which can be translated with participial noun in Tamil. See the following NPs.

(23.S) iiye *aapu* *kenek*
yesterday came-RP someone
'Someone who came yesterday'

(24.S) vatte *væḍəkərənə* ayə
estate-Lo working-RP people
'People who work in the estate'

(25.S) eyaa *kərəpu dəyak*
he did-RP thing
'What he did'

(26.S) oyaa *kiyənə deeval*
you say-RP things
'What you say'

The above NPs can be translated into Tamil with participial NPs as in the following.

(23.T) neettu *vantavar*
Yesterdaycame -RP M.Sg (Hon)
'Someone who came yesterday'

(24.T) tooṭṭattila *veela ceyyiṟavanka*
estate-Loc working-RP 3rd P1.
'People who work in the estate'

(25.T) avan *ceytatu*
he did-RP N.Sg.
'What he did'

(26.T) nii *colṟatukaḷ*
you say-RP N.P1.
'What you say'

It can be noted that in (23-S) - (26-S), the indefinite head nouns *kenek, ayə, deyak* and *deeval* are single independent units, whereas the PNG markers *-ar, -vanka, -tu* and *-tukaḷ* in (23.T) - (26.T), are not independent units, but suffixes and parts of the participial nouns.

The derivational processes of (23.T) - (26.T) and (23.S) - (26.S) are also different. To derive (23.T) - (26.T) we have to apply Equi-NP Deletion, Relative Participialization and Participial Noun Formation, whereas to derive (23.S) - (26.S) we need only Equi-NP and Relative Participialization. They do not involve the process of participial noun formation. For example, see the derivation of (23.S) shown below. The underlying structure of (23.S) would be (27.S).

(27.S) $[_{NP}[_{S}$ kenek iiye e pt$]$ $[$kenek$]_{NP}]$

$\Downarrow$

Equi-NP Deletion $[_{NP}[_{S}$ iiye e. pt$]$ $[$kenek$]_{NP}]$

$\Downarrow$

Participialization $[_{NP}[_{S}$ iiye aapu$]$ $[$kenek$]_{NP}]$

The Sinhala indefinite nouns *kenek* and *ayə* in (23.S) and (24.S), which are human singular and plural respectively can also be considered as the Equivalents of *oruttar* and *aakkaḷ* in Tamil respectively. Hence, (23.Ta) and (24.Ta) also can be the 'equivalents of (23.S) and (24.S) respectively.

(23.Ta) neettu vanta oruttar
yesterday came-RP someone
'Someone who came yesterday'

(24.Ta) toṭṭattila veela ceyyiṟa akkaḷ
estate-loc working -RP people
People who work in the estate'

5.1.2 *Restrictive and Non - Restrictive Relative Clauses*

The relative clauses in both Tamil and Sinhala can be classified as restrictive and non-restrictive on the basis of their modifying function of the head noun. The RRCs restrict or specify the range of reference of the head noun while the NRRCs as their name suggests do not restrict the range of reference of the head noun, but only give some additional information about it. In other words, RRCs differentiate or specify a referent which the head noun refers from the other referents. Thus, the NPs (1.T.S) - (4.T.S) constitute RRCs. For example, in (1.T) and (1.S) the relative clauses *neettu vanta* and *iiye appu* 'who came yesterday' restrict the referent of the hea nound *potiyan* and *laṃəya* 'boy' only to refer to a particular boy who came yesterday and not to refer to any other boys. On the other hand the NRRCs do not have this differentiating function. Consider the following examples.

(28.T) *savuutiyila veelapaakkiṟa enka vaappaa* naaḷaykku vaaṟaar
(28.S) *savuudiye vædəkəṟənə apee taatta* heṭə enəva
Saudi- Loc. working RP our father tomorrow coming
'Our father, who works in Saudi, is coming tomorrow'

In the italicized NPs the relative clauses *savuutiyila veela paakkiṟa* and *savuudiye vædəkəṟənə* 'who works in Saudi; which are non-restrictive, only give some additional information of the head NPs *enka vaappaa* and *apee taatta* 'our father' which are already definite and refer only a specific referent. Without the relative clauses the head NPs do not refer to some other person who is not working in Saudi. Thus, the sentences (29.T) and (29.S)

(29.T) enka vaappaa naaḷaykku vaaṟaar
(29.S) apee taatta heṭə enəva
our father tomorrow coming
'Our father is coming tomorrow'

are basically the same as the sentences (28.T) and (28.S) respectively and what is lacking is the additional information about the father, that he is working in Saudi and the reference of the NPs is not affected. Thus, we find that the NRRCs "can be omitted without losing track of reference of any NP" (Stockwell, 1977 : 59).

Since, the main function of the RRCs is to definitivize the NPs that they modify, they generally do not occur with the NPs like proper nouns, pronouns, unique nouns and the nouns with demonstratives and genitives, which are already definite and have specific reference. For the same reason, the NRRCs always occur with these definite NPs. Thus, the following NPs constitute NRRCs.

(30.T) ennooṭa paṭikkiṟa maalaa
(30.S) maa ekkə igenəgannə maala
I - with studying-RP Mala
'Mala, who is studying with me'

(31.T) naaḷ muḻutum veela ceyyira naan
(31.S) davəsə puṟaamə vædəkəṟənə mamə
day whole working-RP I
'I, who work throughout the day'

(32.T) paḷḷikkup poona anta puḷḷaykaḷ
(32.S) iskooleṭə giyə aṟə lamay
school -Dat went-RP those children
'Those children, who went to school'

The RRCs and NRRCs in both Tamil and Sinhala are identical in their surface structure. Hence, a relative clause with definite head noun can be interpreted either as restrictive or non-restrictive in some specific contexts. For example, the relative clauses in (33.T) and (33.S) can be interpreted in both the ways.

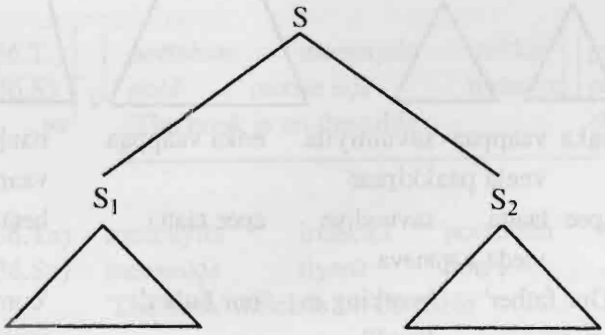
(33.T) *ennooṭa paṭikkiṟa maalaa* nallaa paaṭuvaaḷ
(33.S) *maa ekkə igenəgannə maala* hoṉdəṭə stindukiyənəva
I-with studing-RP Mala well sings
'Mala,who is studying with me, sings well'

The relative clauses *ennooṭa paṭikkiṟa* and *maa ekkə igenəgannə* occur with proper noun *maalaa* which usually has a specific referent and they can be interpreted as non-restrictive RCs. They may

also be interpreted as restrictive, if the speaker intends to specify a particular *maalaa* from others who have the same name and who are not studying with him. Thus, a definite noun can take a RRC, if there is a possibility to refer to more than one referent.

Since, the NRRCs differ from RRCs in their function, it has been suggested by many linguists (Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), Jacobsen (1977) and Thompson (1971)), that the NRRCs should be derived from the deep structure conjunctions instead of from the embedded sentences in the NP. According to this analysis the deep structure of (28.T) and (28.S) would be (34).

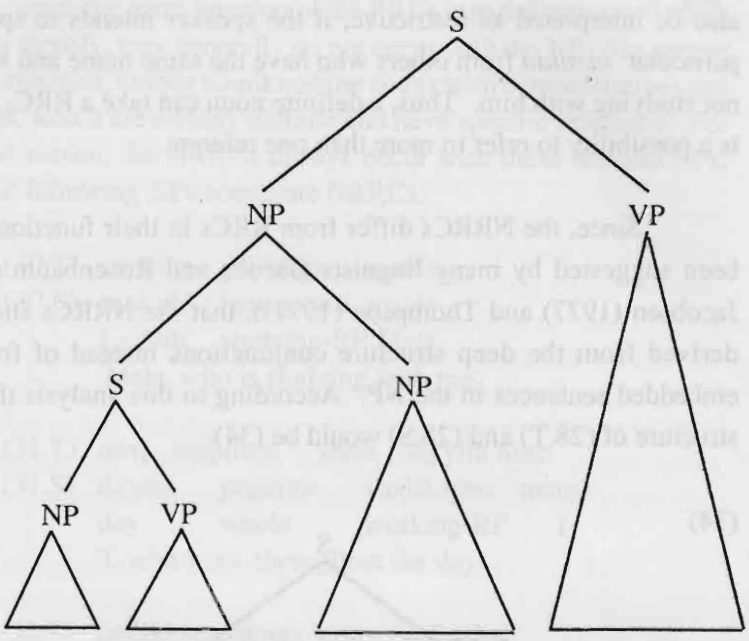
(34)



(34.T)	enka vaappaa savuutiyila veela paakkiṟaar	enkavaappaa naaḷaykku vaaṟaar
(34.S)	apee taatta savuudiye væḍə kəṟənəva	apee taatta heṭə enəva
	'Our father is working in Saudi'	'Our father is coming tomorrow'

The S_1 of the above structure is adjoined to the left of the subject NP of the S_2 by the Appositivization transformation and we get the following structure (35) which is common to both RRCs and NRRCs.

(35)



(35.T) enka vaappaa savuutiyila veela paakkiṟaar — enka vaappaa — naaḷaykku vaaṟaar

(35.S) apee taatta væḍə kəṟənəva savuudiye — apee taatta — heṭə enəva

'Our father' 'working in Saudi' 'our father' 'coming tomorrow'

To the above deep structure the usual Equi-NP Deletion and Relative participialization are applied and we get the surface sentences (28.T) and (28.S).

5.1.3 *Case Relations and Relativizability of the NP*

In the underlying sentence of a relative clause the NP coreferential to the Matrix NP has a particular case relation to the predicate of the underlying sentence. However, all the casal NPs in a

sentence are not freely accessible to relativization[3]. For example, the nominative, accusative, instrumental and locative NPs in both Tamil and Sinhala undergo relativization without any restriction. While the dative and ablative NPs undergo relativization in Sinhala, they show some restriction in Tamil. The genitive NPs in both the languages show some restriction on relativization. The sociative NPs and the NPs with various post-positions like causal, comparative and topical are not relativizable in both Tamil and Sinhala. They are examplified below.

5.1.3.1 *Nominative NP*

The nominative NPs are unmarked in both Tamil and Sinhala and they undergo relativization without any restriction. See the following example.

(36.T.) [S [*pottakam* meecayile irukku] [pottakam]
(36.S) [S [*potə* meese uḍə tiyənəva] [potə]]
NP 'The book is on the table' 'the book'

⇩

(36.Ta) meecayila irukkiṟa pottakam
(36.Sa) meeseuḍə tiyənə potə
'The book which is on the table'

5.1.3.2 *Accusative NP*

Accusative NPs in Tamil are marked by the suffix *-a*. However, the unspecified objects are unmarked, whereas in Sinhala, the animate nouns take the accusative marker *-və* optionally and the inanimate nouns are unmarked. The accusative NPs in both the languages can undergo relativization without any restriction.

3. This seems to be a universal property of relative clause. For theoretical discussion see Keenon and Comrie (1977: 63-99) 'Noun phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar" in *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No.1 Winter 1977.

(37.T) [[naan *pottakam* vaacikkiṟan] [pottakam]]
(37.S) NP[S[mamə *potə* kiyəvənəva] NP[potə]]
'I am reading the book' 'the book'

⇩

(37.Ta) naan vaacikkiṟa pottakam
(37.Sa) mamə kiyəvənə potə
'The book which I am reading'

5.1.3.3 *Instrumental NP*

Instrumental NPs in Tamil are marked by the suffix -aala and in Sinhala they are marked by the suffix -en and the instrumental NPs in both the languages can be relativized.

(38.T) [[naan *kattiyaala* paaṇ veṭṟan] [katti]]
(38.S) NP[S[mamə *pihiyen* paan kapənəva] NP[pihiyə]]
'I cut the bread with the knife' ' the knife'

⇩

(38.Ta) naan paaṇ veṭṟa katti
(38.Sa) mamə paan kapənə pihiyə
'The knife with which I cut the bread'

5.1.3.4 Locative NP

Locative NPs in Tamil are marked by the suffix *-ila* or *-la* and in Sinhala they are marked by the suffix *-ee* and they can be relativized in both Tamil and Sinhala.

(39.T) [[naan kaṭṭilla paṭukkiṟan] [kaṭṭil]]
(39.S) NP[S[mamə æñdee nidaagannəva] NP[æñdə]]
'I sleep in the bed' 'the bed'

⇩

(39.Ta) naan paṭukkiṟa kaṭṭil
mamə nidaagannə æñdə
'The bed in which I sleep'

5.1.3.5 Dative NP

The dative case marker is *-ukku/-kku* in Tamil whereas in Sinhala it is -ṭə and the dative NPs in both the languages express several meanings like goal, benefactive, possessive, purposive, etc. The dative NPs with meanings other than purposive may undergo relativization in Tamil, whereas in Sinhala there is no restriction. See the following example (40)- (42) in which the dative NPs express the meanings goal, benefactive and possessive respectively.

(40.T) [NP [S naan *kaṭaykku* poonan] [NP katay]]
(40.S) [NP [S mamə *kaḍeeṭə* giya] [NP kaḍee]]
'I went to the shop' 'the shop'

⇓

(40.Ta) naan poona kaṭay
(40.Sa) mamə giyə kaḍee
'The shop to which I went'

(41.T) [NP [S naan *maalaakku* kaacu kuṭuttan] [NP maalaa]]
(41.S) [NP [S mamə *maalaṭə* salli dunna] [NP maala]]
'I gave money to Mala' 'Mala'

⇓

(41.Ta) naan kaacu kuṭutta maalaa
(41.Sa) mamə salli dunnə maala
'Mala, to whom I gave money'

(42.T) [NP [S *maamaakku* nalla aṟivu irukku] [NP maamaa]]
(42.S) [NP [S *maamaṭə* hondə dænumək tiyenəva] [NP maama]]
'Uncle has a good knowledge' 'uncle'

⇓

(42.Ta) nalla aṟivu irukkiṟa maamaa
(42.Sa) hoṉdə dænumək tiyenə maama
'Uncle who has a good knowledge'

The dative NPs with purposive meaning do not undergo relativization in Tamil but they do in Sinhala.

See the following examples.

(43.T) [NP [S naan *makaḷukku* oru maala koṇṭantan] [NP makaḷ]]
(43.S) [NP [S mamə *duvəṭə* maaləyak genaava] [NP duvə]]
'I brought a necklace for the daughter' 'daughter'

⇓

(43.Ta) *naan maala koṇṭanta makaḷ
(43.Sa) mamə maalə genaapu duvə
'The daughter for whom I brought a necklace'

5.1.3.6 Genitive NP

The genitive NPs which show inalienable relation with the head NP and which occur with the subject of the sentence can be relativized in both Tamil and sinhala as shown in the following example.

(44.T) [NP [S *maamaaṭa* kaal muṟinci poocci] [NP maamaa]]
(44.S) [NP [S *maamage* kakulə kæḍila] [NP maama]]
'Uncle's leg got broken' 'uncle'

⇓

(44.Ta) kaal muṟinca maamaa
(44.Sa) kakulə kæḍiccə maama
Uncle whose leg got broken

However, the genitive NPs which show alienable relation with the head NP do not undergo relativization in both Tamil and Sinhala as shown in the following example.

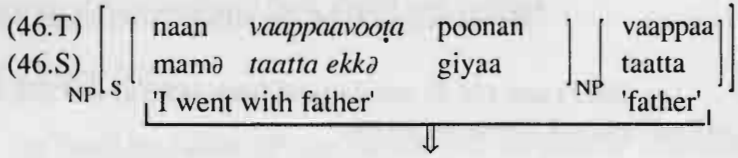
(45.T) [NP [S *maamaaṭa* naay kolaykkutu] [NP maamaa]]
(45.S) [NP [S maamage balla buṟənəva] [NP maama]]
'Uncle's dog is braking' 'uncle'

⇓

(45.Ta) * naay kolaykkiṟa maamaa
(45.Sa) * balla buṟənə maama
'Uncle whose dog is barking'

5.1.3.7 Sociative NP

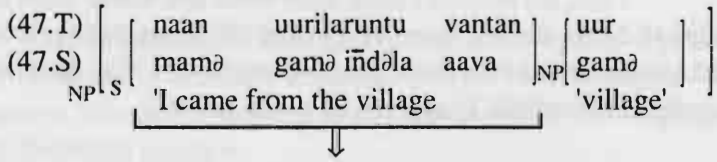
Sociative NPs in Tamil are marked with the particle *-ooṭa* and in Sinhala they are marked with the particle *-ekkə* and they express the meaning 'with' and 'to accompany'. The sociative NPs in both the languages do not undergo relativization. consider the following examples.



(46.Ta) * naan poona vaappaa
(46.Sa) * mamə giyə taatta
'Father with whom I went'

5.1.3.8 Ablative NP

The ablative NPs are marked with the particle *-ilaruntu* in Tamil and in Sinhala they are marked with the particle *-iṉdəla* and they do not undergo relativization in Tamil but they do in Sinhala[4]. Consider the following example.



(47.Ta) * naan vanta uur
(47.Sa) mamə aapu gamə
'The village from where I came'

4. I am thankful to Prof. W.S. Karunatilake, who pointed out this distinction between Tamil and Sinhala in a personal conversation.

However, relativization of the ablative NPs is possible in Tamil and also in Sinhala, in complex sentences in which both the matrix and constituent sentences have indentical ablative casal NPs. Consider the following examples.

(48.T) *naan vanta* uurilaruntutaan avanum vantaan
(48.S) mamə aapu *gamə* iṉdəla tamay eyat aavee
'I came-RP village from Emph he came
'He also came from the village from where I came'

(48.T) and (48.S) are derived from (48.Ta) and (48.Tb) and (48.Sa) and (48.Sb) respectively.

(48.Ta) avanum uurilaruntu vantaan
(48.Sa) eyat gamə iṉdəla aava
he-too village-from came
'He also came from the village'

(48.Tb) naan uurilaruntu vantan
(48.Sb) mamə gamə iṉdəla aava
I village-from came
'I came from the village'

Thus, the relative clause *naan vanta* and *mamə aapu* in (48.T) and (48.S) are derived from (48.Tb) and (48.Sb) respectively in which the coreferential NPs have ablative markers. The deep structure configuration of (48.T) and (48.S) would be (49).

(49.T)
(49.S) $_S$[avan $_S$[naan uur ilaruntu vaa pt] uur ilaruntu vaa pt]
eyaa mamə gamə iṉdəla e pt gamə iṉdəla e pt
he I village from come pt village from come pt

To derive (48.T) and (48.S) from (49) first, the coreferential NPs with ablative markers in the embedded sentences are deleted by the Equi-NP deletion. Secondly, the Relative Participialization converts the verb of the embedded sentences into their relative participial form. Thirdly,

the particle *-um* and *-t* are attached to the subject NPs *avan* and *eyaa* respectively. Finally, the ablative NPs of the matrix sentences are optionally moved in front of the subject NP. The deletion of the ablative NPs is possible in Tamil, only in complex sentences like (48.T) in which the ablative NPs are identical. In Sinhala, it is possible in other sentences too as shown in (47.Sa).

The causal NPs and the NPs with various post- positions do not undergo relativization in both Tamil and Sinhala.

5.1.3.9 Causal NP

In Tamil the causal NPs are marked with the particle *-aala* and in Sinhala with the particle *-nisaa* and they do not undergo relativization in either of the languages as shown in (50).

(50.T) [[naan *avaḷaala* kasṭapparṟan]$_{NP}$ [avaḷ]]
(50.S) [[mamə eyaanisaa dukviñdinəva]$_{NP}$ [eyaa]]
NP S 'I am suffering because of her' 'she'

⇩

(50.Ta) * naan kasṭapparṟa avaḷ
(50.Sa) * mamə dukviñdinə eyaa

5.1.3.10 Comparative NP

The comparative NPs are marked with the comparative particle *-viṭa* in Tamil and in Sinhala it is marked with the particle *-vaḍaa.* The comparative NPs do not undergo relativization in both the languages. See the following example.

(51.T) [[*kamaala* viṭa sunil nallaa eḷutuvaan]$_{NP}$ [kamaal]]
(51.S) [[*kamaalṭə* vaḍaa sunil hoṉdəṭə liyənəva]$_{NP}$ [kamaal]]
NP S 'Sunil writes better than Kamal' 'Kamal'

⇩

(51.Ta) *sunil nallaa eḷutaṟa kamaal
(51.Sa) *sunil hoṉdəṭə liyənə kamaal
'Kamal than whom Sunil writes better'

5.1.3.11 Topical NP

The topical NPs are marked with the particle *patti* in Tamil and with *gænə* in Sinhala. The topical NPs do not undergo relativization in both Tamil and Sinhala as shown in the following examples[5].

(52.T) [[avan *paṭattappatti* peecinaan]$_{NP}$ [paṭam]]
(52.S) [[eyaa *pintuuṛe gænə* kataakələlaa]$_{NP}$ [pintuuṛe]]
NP S
'He spoke about the picture' 'picture'

⇩

(52.Ta) *avan peecina paṭam
(52.Sa) *eyaa kataakələ pintuuṛe
'The picture about which he spoke'

5.2 Correlative Relative Clauses

The correlative type of relative clauses (CRC) are found in both Tamil and Sinhala and the correlativization strategy is very similar in both the languages.

In Tamil, the coreferential NP and the finite verb of the embedded sentence do not undergo any change in the formation of CRCs. Instead, the correlative pairs of the interrogative and demonstrative words are used to relativize the particular NP or the indefinite and definite pronouns will be the NPs of the constituent and the matrix sentences respectively and both the sentences are linked with the clitic *-oo*.

---

5. However, relativization of the topical NP is possible in both the languages, if it occurs with the verbs of 'saying' like *col* in Tamil and *kiyə* in Sinhala for example.

avan *pottakattaip patti* connaan
eyaa *potə gænə* kivva
'He tolled about the book'
⇒
avan conna pottakam
eyaa kivvə potə
'The book about which he tolled

Ramasamy (1981 : 365) observes the formal properties of the CRCs in Tamil as follows:

"The first part of the correlative pairs is formed out of the relative base *e-* with the only exception of *yaaru* 'who'. All the items derived from *e-* irrespective of their formal variations as adjectival and adverbial do function as relative pronouns and these are either attached to the constituent noun phrases or they themselves are constituent noun phrases. The other part of the correlative is invariably formed out of the demonstrative base *a-* and all the items derived from this are either attached to the matrix noun phrases or they themselves are matrix noun phrases. The clitic *o:* affixed to the finite verb of the constituent sentence serves linking the relative clause and the matrix clause"

Subbakrishna (1981 : 154) gives the following generalized formula to the CRCs in Kannada, a Dravidian language which is also relevant to Tamil.

(53.T) $[\ -W^{H}\ \ [\ N]$ - Pred +o:$]\ T^{H}[\ N\ ]$-

Pred = predicate

The following correlative pairs are used in the formation of correlative relative clauses in Tamil.

aar .. avar	'who .. he'
enta .. anta	'what ..that'
enka .. anka	'where .. there'
evaḷavu .. avaḷavu	'how much .. that much'
evan .. avan	'who .. he'
evaḷ .. avaḷ	'who .. she'
etu .. atu	'which .. that'
eppa .. appa	'when .. then', etc.

It can be noted that the first element of the correlative pairs is always indefinite and the second element is always definite.

In the formation of CRCs in Sinhala, as in Tamil, the coreferential NPs in the embeded sentences do not undergo deletion rule and the correlative pairs of the interrogative and demonstrative words which function as relative pronoun are attached to the respective NPs in the matrix and the embedded sentences or the correlative pairs of the indefinite and definite pronouns themselves function as the NPs of the embedded and the matrix sentences respectively. Unlike using the clitic *-oo* to link the embedded and the matrix sentences as used in Tamil, in sinhala, the predicate of the embedded sentences are changed into their respective emphatic forms[6]. Thus, the formula for the CRCs in Sinhala would be as follows:

(53.S) [-WH [N] - Pred + EMPH] TH [N] -

The following are some of the correlative pairs used in the formation of CRCs in Sinhala.

kavudə ... eyaa	'who ..he'
koy..də ... ee	'which ..that'
koccṛə .. də .. eccəṛə	'how much .. that much'
kohe.. də ..ehe	'where..there'
kotənə ..də ..etənə	'where ..there'
etc.	

Consider the following sentences with CRCs in Tamil and Sinhala.

(54.T) naan enta pottakatta teeṭinanoo anta pottakam
I which book-Acc searched-oo that book
keṭaccittu
got

6. In Sinhala the verbs in the emphatic or focused sentences take a specific form. The verbs with non-past tense take the suffix *-nne* and the verbs with past tense take the suffix *-e* or *-ee*. However, the modal verb *oonə* 'want' does not change its form for focusing. The CRCs can also be considered a type of emphatic or focused construction.

(54.S) mamə koy potədə hevve ee potəmə hambəunaa
I which book-də searched that book Emph got
'I have got that same book which I searcned'

(55.T) nii enta vaḻiyaala vantaayoo anta vaḻiyaala poo
you which road-through came-oo that road-through go
(55.S) tamuse koy paaṟendə aave ee paaṟemmə yanəva
you which road-through came -Emph that road-through go
'Go along the road through which you came'

(56.T) avan enka iruntu vantaanoo anka pookaṯṯum
he where from came -oo therego-let
(56.S) eyaa kohe iñdəladə aave ehemə giyaave
he where from came-Emph therego-let
'Let him go to the place where he came from'

(57.T) avaḻ aarooṭa vantaaḻoo avaroota poonaaḻ
she who-with came-oo he-with went
(57.S) eyaa kaa ekkədə aave eyaa ekkəmə giyaa
she who-with came-Emph he-with went
'She went with the person with whom she came'

In the above examples the correlative pairs *enta... anta, enka .. anka* and *aaṟ .. avaṟ* in Tamil and *koy .. də .. ee, kohe .. də .. ehe* and kaa .. də .. eyaa in Sinhala are used to form CRCs. The deep structure of (54.T) and (54.S) would be (58).

(58.T)	[	[	naan	pottakam-Acc	teeṭinan	pottakam	]	keṭaccitṯu
(58.S)		[	mamə	potə-Acc	hevva	potə		haṁbəunaa
	S-NP	S	'I'	'book'	'searched'	'book'		'got'

To derive (54.T) and (54.S) from (58), first, we have to apply the Correlativization transformation which adjoins the correlative pairs of *enta* and *anta* to the respective NPs of (58.T) and *koy ... də* and *ee* to the respective NPs of (58.S). Secondly, we apply the clitic *-oe* Attachment to (58.T) which attaches the clitic to the predicate of the

embedded sentence, whereas to (58.S) we apply the Emphatic transformation which converts the predicate of the embedded sentence into its emphatic form and adds the emphatic marker *-mə* to the NP of the matrix sentence and we get the surface sentence (59).

(59.T) naan enta pottakatta teeṭinanoo anta pottakam keṭacciṭṭu
(59.S) mamə koy potədə hevve ee potəmə haṁbəunaa
'I have got the same book which I searched'

The sentences in (55.T) and (55.S) can also be derived similarly. However, the deep structure and the derivation of (56.T.S) and (57.T.S) are somewhat different. The deep structure of (56.T) and (56.S) would be roughly (60).

(60.T) avan our eṭam ilaruntu vantaan] avan] oru eṭumkku pookaṭum]
(60.S) eyaa yamtænəkə iṁdəla aavaa] eyaa] yamtænəkṭə giyaave]
S NP$_S$ 'he' 'somewhere"from' 'came' 'he' 'somewhere' 'to' 'go'

The Correlativization replaces the indefinite noun *oru eṭam* 'somewhere' in both the constituent and matrix sentences in (60.T) with the correlative pairs *enka* and *anka* respectively and the indefinite noun *yamtænəkə* 'somewhere' in both the constituent and the matrix sentences in (60.S) with the correlative pairs *kohe..də* and *ehe* respectively. Secondly, the clitic *-oo* is attached to the predicate of the embedded sentence in (60.T) and the Emphatic transformation converts the verb of the embedded sentence in (60.S) into its emphatic form and adds the emphatic marker *-mə* to the matrix NP, *ehe*. Finally, the Optional Subject Deletion deletes the subject NPs of the matrix sentences in (60.T) and (60.S) and we get the surface structure (61).

(61.T) avan enka iruntu vantaanoo anka pookaṭṭum
(61.S) eyaa kohe iṁdəladə aave ehemə giyaave
'Let him go to the place from where he came'

The CRCs in (54.T,S) and (55.T,S) in both Tamil and Sinhala have the PRC counterparts (62.T,S) and (63.T,S) respectively.

(62.T) naan teeṭina pottakam keṭacciṯṯu
(62.S) mamə hevvə potə haṁbəunaa
I searched-RP book got
'I got the book which I searched'

(63.T) nii vanta valiyaala poo
(63.S) oyaa aapu paaṟen yannə
you came-RP road-along go
'Go along the road through which you came'

However, the CRCs in (56.T) and (57.T,S) do not have PRC counterparts in both Tamil and Sinhala, since the coreferential NPs in the embedded sentences are in ablative and sociative relation with the predicate of the embedded sentences. Thus, we find that in both Tamil and Sinhala some NPs which do not undergo participial relativization may undergo correlative relativization. However, in colloquial Sinhala the use of the CRCs is more limited than in Tamil.

5.3 Tag type of Relative Clauses

Tamil and Sinhala also employ the tag type strategy to form relative clauses and the tag type of relative clause (TRC) formation is indentical in both Tamil and Sinhala.

In the formation of TRC, the coreferential NP and the verb of the constituent sentence do not undergo any change in both the languages[7]. Instead the coreferential NP is anaphorically related to the NP in the matrix sentence using the demonstrative *anta* in Tamil and *ee/aṟə* in Sinhala or it is simply pronominalized. The embedded sentence is linked with the matrix sentence adding the tag question suffix *-ee* in Tamil and *-ne* in Sinhala to the predicate of the embedded sentence. Thus, the structure of the NP with TRC can be represented as in the following formulae.

7. However, the coreferential NPs in the embedded sentences can be optionally deleted in both the languages as shown in (65.Ta) and (65.Sa).

(64.T) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}\ -\ NP_2\ -\ Vb\ +\ ee\ ]\ [_{NP_1}\ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{anta N}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\ ]\ ]$

(64.S) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}\ -\ NP_2\ -\ Vb\ +\ ne\ ]\ ]\ [_{NP_1}\ \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ee N}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\ ]\ ]$

Consider the following sentences.

(65.T) nii oru pottakam tantaayee $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{anta pottakam}\\ \text{atu}\end{matrix}\right\}$ nallatu

(65.S) oyaa potak dunnane $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ee potə}\\ \text{ekə}\end{matrix}\right\}$ hoñday

you a book gave-tag $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{that book}\\ \text{that}\end{matrix}\right\}$ good

'The book which you gave is good'

(65.Ta)	nii	tantaayee	anta	pottakam	nallatu
(65.Sa)	oyaa	dunnane	ee	potə	hoñday
	you	gave-tag	that	book	good

'The book which you gave is good'

(66.T)	neettu	oruttar	vantaaree	avar	enṭa	aaciriyar
(66.S)	iiye	ekkenek	aavane	eyaa	mage	guṟuvəṟəya
	Yesterday	someone	came-tag	he	my	teacher

'The person who came yesterday is my teacher'

The derivation of (65.T) and (65.S) and (65.Ta) and (65.Sa) can be illustrated as follows. The deep structure of (65.T) and (65.S) and (65.Ta) and (65.Sa) would be (67).

(67.T) [[[nii oru pottakam tantaay] [pottakam]] [nallatu]]
(67.S) [NP [S [oyaa potak dunna] NP [potə]]] [hõnday]
S You a book gave book good

To derive (65.T) and (65.S) from (67) we can either apply Determiner Adjunction or Pronominalization. If we apply Determiner Adjunction, it adjoins the demonstrative *anta* in Tamil and *ee* in Sinhala to the coreferential NP of the Matrix sentence. If we apply the Pronominalization, the NP is replaced by the appropriate pronoun *atu* in Tamil and *eekə* in Sinhala. Secondly, the Tag suffix Attachment attaches the suffix *-ee* in Tamil and *-ne* in Sinhala to the predicate of the embedded sentence. Thus, we get the two different surface structures (68) and (69) which are semantically similar.

(68.T)	nii	oru	pottakam	tantaayee	anta	pottakam	nallatu
(68.S)	oyaa		potak	dunnane	ee	potə	hoñday
	you	a	book	gave-tag	that	book	good

'The book which you gave is good'

(69.T)	nii	oru pottakam	tantaayee	atu	nallatu
(69.S)	oyaa	potak	dunnane	eekə	hoñday
	you	a book	gave-tag	that	good

'The book which you gave is good'

To derive (65.Ta) and (65.Sa) the coreferential NPs in the embedded sentences are optionally deleted. To derive (66.T) and (66.S) the pronominalization can only be applied. The Determiner Adjunction is not applicable.

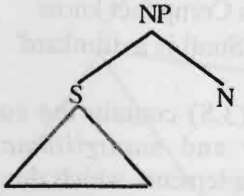
CHAPTER 6

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

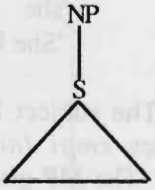
A complement clause is a sentence embedded in an NP to complement the abstract head noun or the predicate of the matrix sentence. The processes of complementation in both Tamil and Sinhala show more similarities than differences.

In both Tamil and Sinhala, a sentence is embedded to the left of the NP to form the complement clause or the embedded sentence itself functions as the NP. Thus, at the common deep level, for both the languages we find two different types of complement clauses viz. complement clause with the head noun and complement clause without the head noun. Hence, the deep structure configurations of the complement constructions in Tamil and Sinhala would be (1) and (2).

(1)



(2)



In the surface level we find five main types of complement construction in Tamil, whereas in Sinhala, there are six types, of which the sixth type, that is the S-type is absent in Tamil. All the six types are given below.

1. S - Complementizer - N type
2. S - Participializer - N type
3. S - Complementizer type
4. S - Nominalizer type

5. S - Infinitivizer type
6. S - type

In the following sections the different types of complement constructions in Tamil and Sinhala are compared and contrasted.

6.1 S - Complementizer - N type

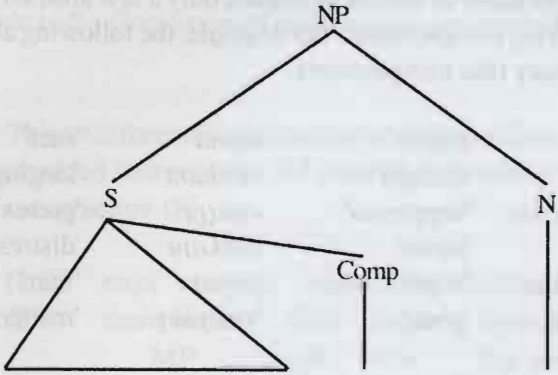
In this type of complement construction a noun phrase constitutes an embedded complement sentence, an abstract head noun and also a complementizer which links the complement sentence to the head noun. Consider the following sentences.

(3.T) *empi lancam vaankiṟaar enṭa ceyti* uṇma
(3.S) *mantṟiitumaa allas gannəva kiyənə kataavə* ættə
MP bribe gets comp story true
'The story that MP gets bribe is true'

(4.T) *avaḷukku sunil oru kuṭikaaṟan enṭa uṇma* teriyum
she -Dat Sunil a drunkard comp fact know
(4.S) eyaa *sunil beebaddek kiyənə vittiyə* dannəva
she Sunil drunkard-a Comp fact know
'She knows the fact that Sunil is a drunkard'

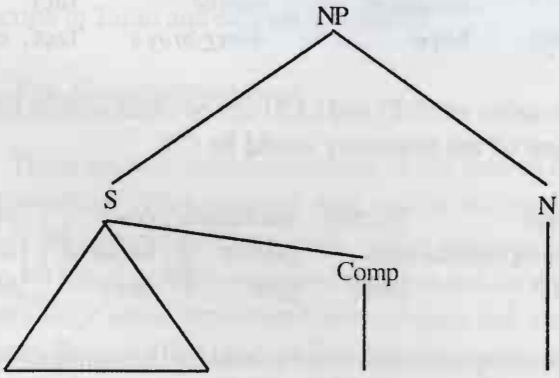
The subject NPs in (3.T) and (3.S) contain the embedded sentences *empi lancam vaankiṟaar* and *mantṟiitumaa allas gannəva* 'The MP gets bribe' as the complements which describe the content of the abstract head nouns *ceyti* and *kataavə* of the matrix sentences in Tamil and Sinhala respectively, and both the complements and the head nouns are linked by the complementizers *enṭa* in Tamil and *kiyənə* in Sinhala which are semantically empty units. Similar to this the object NPs of the sentences (4.T) and (4.S) contain the embedded complement sentences *sunil oru kuṭikaaṟan* and *sunil beebaddek* 'Sunil is a drunkard' as the complements of the abstract head nouns *uṇma* and *vittiyə* 'fact', respectively and both the complements and the head nouns are linked by the complementizers *enṭa* in Tamil and *kiyənə* in Sinhala. The surface configurations of the NPs in (3.T) and (3.S) and (4.T) and (4.S) are given in (5) and (6) respectively.

(5)



(5.T)	empi lancam vaankiṟaar	eṇṭa	ceyti
(5.S)	mantṟiitumaa allas gannəva	kiyənaə	kataavə
	'MP gets bribe'	'that'	'story'

(6)



(6.T)	sunil oru kuṭikaaṟan	enṭa	uṇma
(6.S)	sunil beebaddek	kiyənə	vittiyə
	'Sunil is drunkard'	'that'	'fact'

It can be noted that in (5) the complement sentences have verbal predicates and in (6) they have nominal predicates. thus, in the S-Comp-N type of complement constructions both the verbal and non-verbal predicates sentences can occur as the complement sentences and they do not undergo any change and the head nouns are always

abstract nouns. In Tamil as well as in Sinhala only a few abstract nouns are capable of taking complements. For example, the following abstract nouns in Tamil may take complements.

aaca	'desire'	*uṇma*	'fact'
eṇṇam	'thought'	*eekkam*	'longing'
cantoocam	'happiness'	*caaṭṭu*	'pretext'
ceyti	'news'	*tukkam*	'distress'
nampikka	'hope'	*payam*	'fear'
peruma	'pride'	*vicayam*	'matter, etc.

In Sinhala, the following abstract nouns may take complements.

aasaavə	'desire'	*aaḍəm̄bəṟəyə*	'pride'
kaṭaavə	'story'	*bayə*	'fear'
santooseyə	'happiness'	*sæṟee*	'occasion'
vataavə	'occasion'	*vittiyə*	'fact'
visvaasəyə	'hope	*kaaṟənəyə*	'fact', etc.

The derivation of (3.T) and (3.S) can be illustrated as follows. The deep structure of the sentences would be (7).

(7.T) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ empi lancam vaankiṟaar] [$_N$ ceyti]] [$_{NP}$ uṇma]]

(7.S) [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [$_S$ mantṟiitumaa allas ganəva] [$_N$ kataavə]] [$_{NP}$ ætta]]

(7.T)	empi	lancam	vaankiṟaar	ceyti	uṇma
(7.S)	mantṟiitumaa	allas	ganəva	kataavə	ætta
	MP	bribe	gets	story	true

Since the complementizers are considered semantically empty words, they are not given in the above deep structure. They are transformationally derived in the surface structure. Hence, the only transformation which is necessary to derive (3.T) and (3.S) from (7.T) and (7.S) is Complementizer Insertion Transformation. This transformation has roughly the following form.

T. Complementizer Insertion

SD :	X	- [$_{NP}$ S -	(N)] -	X ⇒
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	2 + Comp	3	4

The N is given within parenthesis, because this rule is also applicable to S - Comp type of construction, in which there is no head noun.

This transformation adjoins the complementizer *enṭa* and *kiyəṇə* to the embedded sentences in (7.T) and (7.S) respectively and we get the surface structure (8).

(8.T)	empi	lancam	vaankiṟaar	enṭaceyti	uṇma
(8.S)	mantṟiitumaa	allas	gannəva	kiyənəkataavə	ættə
	MP	gets	bribe	that story	true

(4.T) and (4.S) are also derived similarly.

Thus, we find that the deep structure, the transformational operation and the surface structure of the S-Comp-N type of complement construction in Tamil and Sinhala are similar.

6.2 The Complementizers

There are five complementizers in the spoken dialect of Tamil under discussion. They are *enṭu, enṭa, enkiṟa, enkiṟatu* and *enṭatu*. Of these only the complementizers *enṭa*, *enkiṟa* and *enṭu* can occur in the S-Comp-N type of complement constructions and the complementizers *enṭa* and *enkiṟa* and complementizers *enkiṟatu* and *enṭatu* are in free variation. Thus, (3.Ta) and (4.Ta) are also grammatical and are semantically the same as (3.T) and (4.T) respectively.

(3.Ta)	empi	lancam	vaankiṟaar	*enkiṟa*	ceyti	uṇma
	M.P	bribe	gets	comp	news	true

'The news that MP gets bribe is true'

(4.Ta)	avaḷukku	sunil	oru	kuṭikaaran	*enkiṟa*	uṇma	teriym
	she Dat	Sunil	a	drunkard	Comp	fact	know

'She knows the fact that Sunil is a drunkard'

The complementizer *enṭu* can occur in the S-Comp-N construction, if the matrix sentence has a verbal predicate as in (9.T).

(9.T) empi lancam vaankiṟaar *enṭu* oru kata ulaavutu
MP bribe gets Comp a story going on
'A story is going on that the MP gets bribe'

In Sinhala *kiyənə, kiyənəkə, kiyənəbavə, kiyəla*, and *bavə* are used as complementizers and only the complementizers *kiyənə* and *kiyəla* can be used in S-Comp-N type of construction. However, the complementizer *kiyəla* occurs only in the sentence in which the predicate of the matrix sentence is verbal. Thus, (3.Sa) is ungrammatical while (10.S) is grammatical.

(3.Sa) * mantṟiitummaa allas gannəva *kiyəla* kataavə ættə
MP bribe get Comp story true
'The story that the MP gets bribe is true'

(10.S) mantṟiitumaa allas gunnəva *kiyəla* kataavak tiyənəva
MP bribe gets Comp story-a be pres
'There is a story that the MP gets bribe'

The complementizers found in Tamil and Sinhala are broadly equated and classified into three sub sets as in the following Table.

	Tamil	Sinhala
1	enṭa enkiṟa	kiyənə
2	enṭatu enkiṟatu	kiyənəkə kiyənəbavə bavə
3	enṭu	kiyəla

All the complementizers in Tamil can be derived from the verb root *en* 'to say'. Similar to this in Sinhala the complementizers *kiyənə, kiyənəkə, kiyənəbavə* and *kiyəla* can be derived from the verb root *kiyə* 'to say'. However, being the complementizers they are treated as single units and are considered as semantically empty.

The complementizers in set 1 are in the relative participial form and they always occur in the S-Comp-N type of construction. The complementizers in the set 2 are in nominalised form and they can occur in S-Comp type of construction. The complementizers *kiyənəkə* and *kiyənəbavə* are in free variation. The complementizer *bavə* in Sinhala can also occur in S- Nominalizer type of construction. The complementizers in set 3 are in the verbal participial form and they occur in the S-Comp type and S-Comp-N type of constructions.

6.3 S- Participializers-N type

In this type of complement construction the NP constitutes an embedded complement sentence and an abstract head noun. There is no overt complementizer in between the complement sentence and the head noun. The verb of the complement sentence is transformed into its relative participial form to link the complement sentence with the head noun. Hence, only a verbal predicate sentence can be the complement sentence in this S-Participializer-N type of complement construction in both Tamil and Sinhala. Consider the following sentences.

(11.T) ellaarukkum *empi lancam vaankiṟa vicayam* teriyum
everyone-Dat MP bribe get-RP fact know
(11.S) kavuṟut *mantṟiituma allas gannə kaaṟənəyə*dannəva
everyone MP bribe get-RP fact know
'Everyone knows the fact that the MP gets bribe'

(12.T) *maamaa neettu vanta cankati* maamikku teriyaatu
uncle yesterday came-RP fact aunt-Dat know-Neg.
(12.S) *maama iiye aapu vittiyə* nænda dannə nææ
uncle yesterday came-RP fact aunt know-Neg.
'Aunt does not know the fact that uncle came yesterday'

The NPs *empi lancam vaankiṟa vicayam* and *mantriitumaa allas gannə kaaṟənəyə* ' the fact that MP gets bribe' in (11.T) and (11.S) contain the complement clauses *empi lancam vaankiṟa* and

mantriitumaa allas gannə 'that MP gets bribe' and the head nouns *vicayam* and *kaaṟənəyə* 'fact' respectively. There is no overt complementizer between the complement clause and the head noun. Instead, the predicates of the complement sentences *vaankiṟa* and *gannə* are in their relative participial forms.

The deep structure of the S-Participializer -N type of complement constructions and the S-Comp-N type of constructions are similar, but the derivational processes are different. The deep structure of (11.T) and (11.S) would be (13).

(13.T)	[	[ellaarukkum	[	empi	lancam	vaanku-Prs	]	vicayam	teriyum]
(13.S)		[kavuṟut		[mantriitumaa		allas ga-Prs	]	kaarənəyə	dannəva]
	S_{NP}	everyone	S	MP	bribe	get-Prs		fact	know

To derive (3.T) and (3.S) from (7) the complementizer insertion transformation is applied. But to derive (11.T) and (11.S) from (13) instead of Complementizer Insertion, one has to apply the Relative Participialization transformation, which adds the RP marker to the verb of the embedded complement sentences and converts the verbs into their relative participial forms.

Applying the Relative Participialization to the deep structure (13) we get the following configuration.

(14.T)	[	ellaarukkum	[	[	empi	lancam	vaanku prs.RP]	vicayam	teriyum]
(14.S)		kavuṟut		S [	mantriitumaa		allas ga Prs.RP]	kaarənəyə	dannəva]
	S	everyone			MP		bribe get.Prs.RP	fact	know

After applying the appropriate phonological rules in Tamil and Sinhala, we get the following phonetic realization.

T. vaanku + Prs + RP → vaankiṟa
S. ga + Prs + RP → gannə

Finally, we get the surface sentences (11.T) and (11.S) respectively.

As we have already observed, in the S-Comp-N type of complement construction both verbal and non-verbal predicate sentences can occur as complement sentences, whereas in the S-Participializer -N type of complement construction only the verbal predicate sentences can occur as complement sentences. In the case of verbal predicate sentences either Complementizer Insertion transformation or Relative Participialization transformation can be applied as it is done to the deep structures (7) and (13) respectively. In the case of nonverbal predicate sentences only the Complementizer Insertion is applied and the relative participialization is not applicable to this structure.

In both Tamil and Sinhala, the relative clauses and the S-Participializer-N type of complement clauses are similar in their surface structures. For example, the NPs in (15.T) and (15.S) constitute complement clauses and the NPs in (16.T) and (16.S) constitute relative clauses.

(15.T)	*avan vanta*	vicayam	enakku	teriyum
	he came-RP	fact	I-Dat	know
(15.S)	*eyaa aapu*	kaaɾ̲ənəyə	mamə	dannəva
	he came-RP	fact	I	know
	'I know the fact that he came'			

(16.T)	*avan ceyta*	veela	enakku	teriyum
	he did-RP	work	I-Dat	know
(16.S)	*eyaa kəɾ̲əpu*	væḍə	mamə	dannəva
	he did-RP	work	I	know
	'I know the work that he did'			

In the above sentences, the predicates of the embedded sentences are in participial form and are followed by the head nouns in both the relative clauses and the complement clauses. The embedded sentences and the head nouns are immediately dominated by the NPs. However, the deep structure and the function of the relative clauses and the complement clauses are different (Lakoff,

(1968 : 14), Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968 : 48)). An important difference is that in the relative clause the embedded sentence has a co-referential NP to the head noun of the matrix sentence. But in the complement clause there is no such co-referential NP in the embedded sentence. See the following deep structures (17) for (15.T) and (15.S) and (18) for (16.T) and (16.S).

(17.T)	[enakku	[avan		vantaan]		vicayam	teriyum	]
(17.S)	S[mamə	S[eyaa		aava]		kaaṟənəyə	dannəva	]
	'I'	'he'		'came'		'fact'	'know'	

(18.T)	[enakku	[avan	*veela*	ceytaan]		veela	teriyum	]
(18.S)	S[mamə	S[eyaa	væḍə	kəṟuva]		væḍə	dannəva	]
	'I'	'he did	the	work'		'the work'	'know'	

In (17.T) and (17.S) there are no co-referential NPs in the embedded sentences to the head noun *vicayam* and *kaaṟənəyə* in the matrix sentences respectively. Whereas in (18.T) and (18.S) the head nouns *veela* and *væaḍə* 'work' in the matrix sentences have the co-referential NPs *veela* and *væḍə* 'work' in the embedded sentences.

Another distinction between the S-Participializer-N type of complement clause and the relative clause is that, in the complement clause only an abstract noun can be the head noun of the matrix sentence, whereas in the relative clause any noun can be the head noun of the matrix sentence[1].

6.4 S-Complementizer type

In the S-Complementizer type of construction the NP contains a complement sentence and a complementizer and there is no head noun in the NP. The complementizer directly links the complement sentence and the matrix sentence.Consider the following sentences.

1. For further discussion on the differences between the RC and CC see Annamalai (1997), Sivakumar (1980) and Suseela (1983).

(19.T)	naan	*kamaal*	*varuvaanenṭu*		connan
	mamə	*kamaal*	*enəva*	*kiyəla*	kivva
(19.S)	I	kamal	will come	comp	said

'I said that Kamal will come'

(20.T)	*avaḷ*	*aḷukiṟaaḷ*	*enṭatu*	enakku	teriyum
	she	crying	Comp	I-Dat	know
(20.S)	*eyya*	*aṁḍəməva*	*kiyənəekə*	mamə	dannəva
	she	crying	Comp	I	know

'I know that she is crying'

In (19.T) and (19.S) the NPs *kamaal varuvaan enṭu* and *kamaal enəva kiyəla* 'that Kamal will come ' in Tamil and Sinhala contain the complement sentences *kamaal varuvaan* and *kamaal enəva* 'Kamal will come' and the complemntizer *enṭu* and *kiyəla* respectively. Similarly, in (20.T) and (20.S) the NPs *avaḷ aḷukiṟaaḷ enṭatu* and *eyaa aṁḍəməva kiyənəekə* 'that she is crying' in Tamil and Sinhala contain the complement sentences *avaḷ aḷukiṟaaḷ* and *eyaa aṁḍəməva* 'she is crying' and the complementizer *enṭatu* and *kiyənəekə* respectively and there are no head nouns in the NPs.

The complement sentences in (19.T) and (19.S) and (20.T) and (20.S) have verbal predicates and the predicates are in their finite form. That is, they did not undergo any change. The non-verbal predicate sentences also can occur as complement sentences in this type of S-Complementizer construction in both Tamil and Sinhala. Consider the following sentences.

(21.T)	*avan*	*oru*	*kolakaaṟan*	*enṭatu*	uṇma
	he	a	murderer	Comp	true
(21.S)	*eyaa*	*miniimaṟuvek*	*kiyənəekə*		ættə
	he	murderer-a		comp	true

'It is true that he is a murderer'

(22.T)	*sunil*	*oru*	*aaciriyan*	*enṭu*	enakku	teriyum
	Sunil	a	teacher	Comp	I-Dat	know

(22.S) *sunil* *guṟuvəṟəyek* *kiyəla* *mamə* dannəva
Sunil teacher-a Comp I know
'I know that Sunil is a teacher'

The complement sentences *avan oru kolakaaṟan* and *eyaa miniimaṟuvek* 'He is a murderer' in (21.T) and (21.S) and *sunil oru aaciriyan* and *sunil guṟuvəṟəyek* 'Sunil is a teacher' in (22.T) and (22.S) have nominal predicates. The complementizers *enṭatu* an *kiyənəekə* in (21.T) and (21.S) respectively and *enṭu* and *kiyəla* in (22.T) and (22.S) respectively link the complement sentences to the matrix sentences.

The deep structure of (19.T) and (19.S) would be (23).

(23.T) [naan [kamaal varuvaan] connan]
(23.S)$_S$ [mamə $_S$[kamaal enəva] kivva]
'I' 'Kamal will come' 'said'

To derive (19.T) and (19.S) from (23) only one transformation, that is the Complementizer Insertion is necessary as in the case of the derivation of the S-Comp-N type of complement construction. This transformation inserts the complementizer *enṭu* to the embedded sentence in (23.T) and *kiyəla* to the embedded sentence in (23.S) and we get the surface configuration (24).

(24.T) [naan [kamaal varuvaan enṭu] connan]
(24.S)$_S$ [mamə $_S$[kamaal enəva] kiyəla] kivva]
'I' 'Kamal will come' 'comp 'said'
'I said that Kamal will come'

There are some restrictions on the occurrence of the complementizers in this type of S-Complementizer construction. If the predicate of the matrix sentence is nonverbal like *uṇṇa* in Tamil and *ættə* in Sinhala as in (21.T) and (21.S) only the complementizers *enṭatu* or *enkiṟatu* in Tamil and *kiyənəekə* or *kiyənəbavə* in Sinhala can be inserted. If the complementizer *enṭu* in Tamil and *kiyəla* in Sinhala are inserted, the sentences will be ungrammatical as shown in (21.Ta) and (21.Sa).

(21.Ta) *avan oru kolakaaran *enṭu* uṇma
he a murderer comp true

(21.Sa) *eyaa miniimaṟuvek *kiyaəla* ættə
he murderer-a Comp true
'It is true that he is a murderer'

It can be observed that many of the verbs like *teri* 'know', *nenai* 'remember' *nampu* 'believe' *keeḷvippaṭu* 'hear', etc., in Tamil can take either the complementizer *enṭu* or *enṭatu* and similar to this the verbs *dan* 'know' *mauakve* 'remember', *visvaasəkərə* 'believe', *aaṟaancivə* 'hear', etc., in Sinhala can take either the complementizer *kiyəla* or *kiyənəekə.* consider the following examples.

(25.T) sunil vaṟuvaan *enṭu* enakku teriyum
(25.Ta) sunil varuvaan *enṭatu* enakku teriyum
Sunil will come Comp I-Dat know
'I know that Sunil will come'

(25.S) sunil enəva *kiyəla* mamə dannəva
(25.Sa) sunil enəva *kiyənəekə* mamə dannəva
Sunil will come Comp I know
"I know that Sunil will come'

The complementizer *enṭu* in Tamil mostely occurs with the verbs of communicating, thinking or feeling like *col* 'say' *nenai* 'think',*eṇṇu* 'think' *kavalappaṭu* 'worry', etc., and the complements linked with the *enṭu* complementizer "state the content of the communication, thought or feeling that is attributed to the subject of the verb" (Larkin, 1972 "47). See the following sentences.

(26.T) naan varuvan *enṭu* connan
I will come Comp said
'I said that I will come'

(27.T) avan koḷumpukku pookaveeṇum *enṭu* nenaccaan
he Colombo-Date to go want Comp thought
'He thought that he should go to Colombo'

(28.T) aval cootina paas paṇṇalla *enṭu* kavalappaṭṭaal
she exam passed Neg Comp worried
'She worried that she did not pass the examination'

Similar to this in Sinhala the complementizer *kiyəla* mostly occurs with the verbs, like *kiyə* 'to say', *hitə* 'think', *kanəgaaṭuve* 'worry', etc. Consider the following sentences.

(26.S) mamə enəva *kiyəla* kivva
I will come Comp said
'I said that I will come'

(27.S) eyaa koləmbəṭə yannə oonə *kiyəla* hituva
he Colombo-Dat to go want Comp thought
'He thought that he should go to Colombo'

(28.S) eyaa vibaagə paasunee nææ *kiyəla* kanəgaaṭuuna
she exam passed-Neg Comp worried
'She worried that she did not pass the examination'

In the above sentences the complementizer *kiyənəekə* does not occur.

In Sinhala, the complementizer *bavə* can only be inserted in this S-Comp type of construction, if the complement sentence has nonverbal predicate as in (29.S).

(29.S) eyaa pohosətek *bavə* mamə dannəva
he rich man-a Comp I know
'I know that he is a rich man'

In this context the complementizers *kiyənəekə* and *kiyənəbavə* can also occur. However, the complementizer *bavə* can also occur with verbal predicate sentences only after the application of Relative Participialization as in (30.S).

(30.S) maama *enə* *bavə* mamə dannəva
uncle come-RP Comp I know
'I know that uncle is coming'

In this context *bavə* behaves like the nominalizer *-ekə* and it can also be considered as nominalizer, since *-ekə* can replace *bavə* in (30.S). Consider the following sentence.

(30.Sa) maama *enə* *ekə* mamə dannəva
'I know that uncle is coming'

6.5 S-Nominalizer type

In this type of complement construction each NP contains only a complement sentence and there is no overt complementizer to link the complement sentence to the matrix sentence. Instead, the verbs of the complement sentences are nominalized in both Tamil and Sinhala by the nominalizer *-tu* and *-ekə* respectively. Consider the following sentences.

(31.T) *kamaal uurukku vanta-tu* nallatu
(31.S) *kamaal gamətə aapu-ekə* hoñday
Kamal village-Datcame -RP-Nom good
'It is good that Kamal came to the village'

(32.T) *empi lancam vaankiṟa-tu* ellaarukkum teriyum
(32.S) *mantriitumaa allas gunnə-ekə* kavuṟut dannəva
MP bribe getting-RP-Nom everyone know
'Everyone knows that MP is getting bribe'

The NPs *kamaal uuṟukku vanta-tu* and *kamaal gamətə aappu-ekə* ' that Kamal came to the village' in (31.T) and (31.S) contain only nominalized complement sentences and there are no head nouns in the NPs. the deep structure of (31.T) and (31.S) would be (33).

(33.T) [[[kamaal uur-ukku vaa-pt]] nallatu]
(33.S) [[[kamaal gamə-ʈə e pt]] hōnday]
NP S S
'Kamal' 'village - Dat' 'come-pt' 'good'

To derive (31.T) and (31.S) from (33), first, we have to apply the Relative Participialization, which adds the RP markers to the verbs of the embedded sentences. Secondly, we apply the Nominalizer Attachment which attaches the nominalizer *-tu* and *-ekə* to the respective verbs of the embedded sentences and converts the verbs into the verbal noun. This rule would be in the following form.

T. Nominalizer Attachment

SD: $X - \underset{NP}{[} \; [\; X - Vb \;]] - X \Rightarrow$

1 2 3 4

SC: $1 \; 2 \; 3 + \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{-tu} \\ \text{-ekə} \end{matrix} \right\} \; 4$

Condition

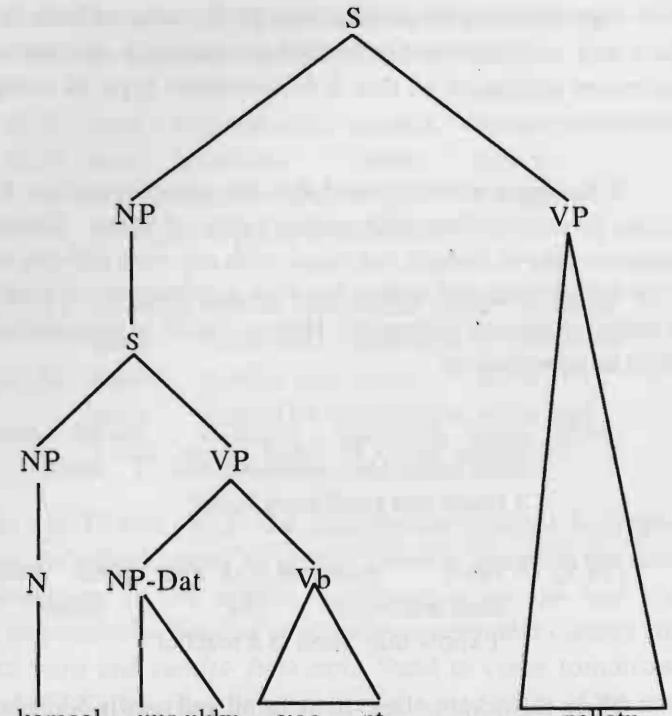
Vb = is verb root + tense +RP

-tu is selected for Tamil

-ekə is selected for Sinhala

The derivation of (31.T) and (31.S) from (33) is given in (34).

(34)



(34.T)	kamaal	uur-ukku	vaa	pt	nallatu
(34.S)	kamaal	gam-ṭə	e	pt	hoṉday
Relative	kamal	uur -ukku	vaa	pt RP	nallatu
Participi-alization	kamaal	gamə-ṭə	e	pt RP	hoṉday
Nomina-lization	kamaal	uur-ukku	vaa	pt RP tu	nallatu
	kamaal	gamə-ṭə	e	pt RP ekə	honday
After applying phonolo-gical rules	kamaal	uurukku	vantatu		nallatu
	kamaal	gamə̤ṭə	aapu	ekə hoṉday	

'It is good that Kamal came to the village'

Any verb can be nominalized in this way in both Tamil and Sinhala and only the verbal predicate sentences can occur as the complement sentences in this S-Nominalizer type of complement construction.

It has been already noted that the complementizer *bavə* also functions as nominalizer with certain types of verbs. However, the nominalizer *-ekə* in Sinhala can occur with any verb and can convert it into the verbal noun and unlike *bavə* the nominalizer *-ekə* only occurs with verbal predicate sentences. Hence, (34.S) is grammatical while (35.S) is ungrammatical.

(34.S) *sunil gedərəṭə giyəekə* mamə dannəva
Sunil home-Dat went-RP-ekə I know
'I know that sunil went home'

(35.S) * *sunil guruvərəyek ekə* mamə dannəva
Sunil teacher-a- ekə I know
'I know that Sunil is a teacher'

Thus, the nominalizer *-tu* in Tamil and *-ekə* in Sinhala behave alike and they are added to the participial form of the verb to convert the same into a verbal noun.

The S-Nominalizer type of complements in Tamil mostly occur with the predicates like *teriyum* 'know' *paar* 'see', *nampu* 'believe', *nallatu* 'good', *uṇma* 'true' *aaccariyam* 'surprising', etc., and in Sinhala they mostly occur with the similar predicates like *dan* 'know' *visvaasək ər ə* 'believe', *daki* 'see', *hōndə* 'good' *ætta* 'true', *pudumə* 'surprising', etc.

Thus, we find that the S-Nominalizer type of complement constructions are similar in both Tamil and Sinhala.

6.6 S-Infinitivizer type

In the S- Infinitivizer type of complement construction an NP contains only an embedded complement sentence with a verbal predicate, and the complemt sentence is linked to the matrix sentence by the

process of infinitivization of the verb of the embedded sentence in both Tamil and Sinhala. Consider the following sentences.

(36.T) naan *koḷumpukku pooka* nenaccan
(36.S) mam *kolǝmbǝṭǝ yannǝ* hituva
I Colombo-Dat to go thought
'I thought of going to Colombo'

(37.T) maamaa *sunila naaḷaykku varac* connaar
uncle Sunil-Acc tomorrow to come said
(37.S) maama *sunilṭǝ heṭǝ ennǝ* kivva
uncle Sunil-Dat tomorrow to come said
'Uncle asked Sunil to come tomorrow'

In (36.T) and (36.S) the complement clauses *koḷumpukku pooka* and *kolǝmbaṭǝ* yannǝ 'to go to Colombo' describe the content of the predicates of the matrix sentences *nenaccan* and *hituva* 'thought' respectively. Similar to this the complement clauses sunila naaḷaykku *vara* and *sunilṭǝ heṭǝ ennǝ* 'Sunil to come tomorrow' in (37.T) and (37.S) describe the content of the predicates of the matrix sentences *connaar* and *kivva* 'said' respectively. The derivation of (36.T) and (36.S) is similar in both Tamil and Sinhala. However, the derivation of (37.T) and (37.S) is somewhat different.

The deep structure of (36.T) and (36.S) would be (38).

(38.T) [naan [naan koḷumbu-kku poo] nenaccan]
(38.S) [mamǝ [mamǝ kolǝmbǝ-ṭǝ ya] hituva]
S S I I Colombo-Dat go thought

To derive (36.T) and (36.S) from (38) two transformational rules are applied. The first one is Equi-NP Deletion. Since the subject NPs of the matrix and the embedded sentences are identical the Equi-NP Deletion deletes the identical NPs *naan* and *mamǝ* in the embedded sentences in (38.T) and (38.S) respectively. Secondly, the Infinitivization rule is applied. This rule infinitivizes the verbs of the embedded sentences. The rule would be in the following form.

T. Infinitivization

SD: $X - [_{NP}\ [_{S}\ X - Vb\ ]\ ] - X \Rightarrow$

1 2 3 4

SC: 1 2 3 + infi 4

Vb. = Verb root

After the application of the infinitivization we get the surface structure (39).

(39.T) naan koḷumpukku pooka nenaccan

(39.S) mamə koləm̄bəṭə yannə hituva

'I thought of going to Colombo'

The deep structure of (37.T) and (37.S) would be (40).

(40.T)	[maamaa	[sunil	naaḷaykku	vaa]	conaar]
(40.S)	[maama	[sunil	heṭə	e]	kivva]
S	uncle	S	Sunil	tomorrow	come	said

In (40), there are no identical NPs in the matrix and the embedded sentences. Hence, the Equi-NP Deletion is not applicable to the above deep structure. Instead, the Subject Raising transformation is applied first. This transformation raises the subject NPs of the embedded sentence as the object NP of the matrix sentence. However, this raising is differently realized in Tamil and Sinhala. In Tamil, the subject of the embedded sentence is raised as the direct object and it takes the accusative marker, whereas in Sinhala, it is raised as the indirect object and it takes the dative marker. Applying the raising rule to (40), we get the intermediate structures (41.T) and (41.S)

(41.T) $[_{S}$ [maama] $_{NP}$ [sunil-a $_{VP}$ [naaḷaykku vaa] $_{S}$ connaar]]

uncle Sunil-Acc tomorrow come said

(41.S) $_{S}[_{NP}$[maama]$_{VP}$[sunil-ṭə $_{S}$[heṭə e] kivva]]
uncle sunil-Dat tomorrow come said

Secondly, the Infinitivization is applied to (41.T) and (41.S). This rule infinitivizes the verbs of the embedded sentences adding the infinitive markers and we get the surface sentences (37.T) and (37.S) respectively.

The infinitive complement clauses (ICC) and the infinitive clauses (IC) look alike in their surface structure in both Tamil and Sinhala. However, they are not one and the same. For example, (42.T,S) and (43.T,S) constitute infinitive clauses.

(42.T) naan *paṭam paakka* poonan
(42.S) mamə *pintuuṟe balənnə* giya
I film to see went
'I went to see the film'

(43.T) avaḷ *ennap paakka* vantaaḷ
(43.S) eyaa *maavə balənnə* aava
she I-Acc to see come
'She came to see me'

paṭam paakka and *pintuuṟe balənnə* 'to see the film' in (42.T) and (42.S) and *ennap paakka* and *maavə balənnə* 'to see me' in (43.T) and (43.S) are infinitive clauses, but not infinitive NP complement clauses. One of the basic differences between the ICCs and ICs is that the ICCs, as any other NP complement, can be questioned by the question word *enna* in Tamil and *monəva..də* in Sinhala, whereas the ICs cannot be questioned by these question words. For example, (36.T,S) and (37.T,S) which contain ICCs can be the answer to the questions (44.T,S) and (45.T,S) respectively.

(44.T) naan *enna* nenaccan
(44.S) mamə *monəva* hituvadə
I what thought
'What did I think?

(45.T)	maamaa	*enna*	connaar
(45.S)	maama	*monəva*	kivvadə
	uncle	what	said
	'What did uncle say?		

(42.T,S) and (43.T,S) which contain ICs cannot be the answers to *enna* and *monəva..də* questions and (46.T,S) and (47.T,S) are themselves ungrammatical.

(46.T)	* naan	*enna*	poonan
(46.S)	* mamə	*monəva*	giyaadə
	I	what	went

(47.T)	* aval̤	enna	vantaal̤
(47.S)	* eyaa	*monəva*	aavaadə
	she	what	came

Instead, they can be questioned by the question words *ennattukku* 'what for' in Tamil and *mokəṭ̤ədə* 'what for' in Sinhala. This reveals that the ICs have purposive meaning, whereas ICCs do not have purposive meaning.

Another distinction between the ICCs and ICs is that only a limited number of verbs which are transitive can take ICCs in both Tamil and sinhala. For example, the verbs like *virumpu* 'like', *toṭanku* 'start', *aaccappaṭu* 'desire', *col* 'tell/ask' *nena* 'think', *tiirmaani* 'decide; etc., in Tamil and *kiyə* 'say', *hitə, kalpanaakərṟə* 'think', *kæmətive* 'agree', *illannə* 'ask', *balə* 'try', etc., in Sinhala, can take infinitive complements, whereas any verb whether transitive or intransitive may take ICs. For example, the verbs in (42.T,S) and (43.T,S) are intransitive.

ICCs are directly dominated by the NP node in the deep structure as in (38) and (40) as any other NP complements, whereas the ICs are directly dominated by the VP node in the deep structure. This is another important distinction between the ICCs and ICs. For example, the deep structure of (42.T) and (42.S) would be (48).

(48.T) [naan [[naan paṭam paar] poonan]]
(48.S) [mamə [[mamə pintuuṟe balə] giya]]
S I VP S I film see went

Thus, we find that the S-Infinitivizer complement constructions in both Tamil and Sinhala are mostly similar. Both the languages employ the Equi-NP Deletion and Infinitivization to derive the infinitivie complements from the deep structures in which there are identical NPs in both the embedded and matrix sentences. They employ the Subject Raising to derive the complements from the deep structures in which the subject NPs of the matrix and the embedded sentences are non-identical. However, in Tamil the Raising is realized as accusative NP, while in Sinhala it is realized as dative NP.

6.7 S-type

The S-type of complement construction is found only in Sinhala. In this type of construction an embedded sentence in the NP functions as the complement clause without any change in its form and without any complementizer. Consider the following sentences.

(49.S) amma *taatta heṭə enəva* kivva
mother father tomorrow come said
'Mother said that father is coming tomorrow'

(50.S) *mamə maala dukvin̄dinəva* dannəva
I Mala suffering know
'I know that Mala is suffering'

The embedded complement sentences *taatta heṭə enəva* 'father is coming tomorrow' in (49.S) and *maala dukvin̄dinəva* 'Mala is suffering' in (50.S) are in their full forms and there is no linking element in between the embedded sentences and the matrix sentences. Hence, the deep structure and the surface structure of (49.S) and (50.S) are almost identical. The deep structure of (49.S) would be (51.S).

(51.S) $_{S}[$ amma $_{S}[$taatta heṭə enəva] kivva]]
'mother' 'father is coming tomorrow' 'said'

This deep structure is identical to the deep structure (23) which belongs to the S-Comp type of construction. Hence, we can optionally apply the Complementizer Insertion transformation to the above deep structure which produces the sentence (49.Sa) which is also grammatical and semantically the same as (49.S).

(49.Sa) amma *taatta heṭə enəva kiyəla* kivva
mother father tomorrow come comp said
'Mother said that father is coming tomorrow'

However, in Sinhala the S-type of complements occur only with a small number of verbal predicates like *kiyə* 'say', *dan* 'know', *daki* 'see', *dænə* 'feel', *pee* 'see', and the nonverbal predicates like *vædi* 'much', *madi* 'not enough', *puṛudu* 'habit, *matəkə* 'memory, etc.

The S-type of complement construction is totally absent in Tamil. This is a significant distinction that we find in the process of complementation in Tamil and Sinhala. Thus, (52.S) is grammatical in Sinhala, whereas (52.T) is ungrammatical in Tamil.

(52.S)	mamə	maama	aava	kivva
(52.T)	* naan	maamaa	vantaar	connan
	I	uncle	came	said

I said that uncle came'

The deep structure configuration of (52.S) and (52.T) would be (53).

(53.S)	[	[mamə	[	maama	aava]	kivva]
(53.T)	[	[naan	[	maamaa	vantaar]	connan]
	$_{S}$	$_{N}$ I	$_{S}$	uncle	came	said

If we apply the Complementizer Insertion to the above structure (which is optional in Sinhala and obligatory in Tamil) we get the following grammatical sentences (54.S), (54.Sa) and (54.T).

(54.S)	mamə	*maama*	*aava*	kivva	
(54.Sa)	mamə	*maama*	*aava*	*kiyəla*	kivva
(54.T)	naan	*maamaa*	*vantaar*	*entu̇*	connan
	I	uncle	came	comp	said

'I said that uncle came'

CHAPTER 7

ADJECTIVES IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

Adjectives constitute a syntactic category and function as modifiers of the nouns in the NP. Most of the transformationalists consider adjectives as a sub-class of verbs in the deep structure. According to Lakoff (1970 : 115-133) adjectives and verbs are members of a single lexical category and he calls them as VERB and differentiates them by the syntactic feature ADJECTIVAL. Thus, he assigns the features *[* +V, -ADJ*]* for verbs and *[*+V, +ADJ*]* for adjectives. Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968 : 63) also agree with Lakoff and give the features *[* + VB*]* and *[*+V *]* for verbs and *[*+VB*] [*-V*]* for adjectives.

In Tamil also the adjectives can be considered as verbals in the deep structure. Agesthialingom (1976 : 7-9), who considers adjectives as appellative verbs in the deep structure, which are called as *'kurippu vinai'* by the traditional Tamil grammarians, argues that verbs and adjectives (appellatives) behave similarly.

In Sinhala too, adjectives are considered as verbals in the deep structure. Most of the adjectives in both Tamil and Sinhala are derived from the adjectival predicates of the embedded sentences in the deep structure. Hence, the PS rule NP → S NP is capable of accounting for the adjectives in both Tamil and Sinhala.

Morphologically adjectives in both Tamil and Sinhala are classified into two main types viz. simple adjectives and derived adjectives.

7.1 Simple Adjectives

There are a few adjectives in Tamil which can be considered morphologically single units (though some of them can be segmented further) and they are called simple adjectives, whereas most of the adjectives in Sinhala are morphologically single units and are simple adjectives. The following are simple adjectives in Tamil.

nalla	'good'
cinna	'small'
perum/periya	'big'
putu/putiya	'new'
paḷam/paḷaya	'old'
eḷam/eḷaya	'young'

The colour adjectives like

veḷḷa	'white'
kaṟuppu	'black'
cekappu	'red'
pacca	'green'
niilam	'blue', etc.

are also simple adjectives.

Some of the simple adjectives in Sinhala are given below.

hoṉ̄də	'good'
poḍi	'small'
loku	'big'
alut	'new'
paṟənə	'old'
taṟunə	'young'
lassənə	'beautiful'
naṟəkə	'bad'
gæṉ̄buṟu	'deep'

suəndə	'fragrant'
pohosat	'rich'
amaaṟu	'difficult'

Some of the simple adjectives in both Tamil and Sinhala occur in the following NPs.

(1.T) *nalla* poṭiyan
(1.S) hondə lamədya
good boy
'The good boy'

(2.T) *cinna* meesa
(2.S) poḍi meese
small table
'The small table'

(3.T) *puṭu* kaṭṭaṭam
(3.S) *aluṭ* godənægillə
new building
'The new building'

(4.T) paḷaya pottakam
(4.S) *paṟənə* potə
old book
'The old book'

(5.T) *periya* maram
(5.S) *loku* gaha
big tree
'The big tree'

The adjectives in the NPs (1.T,S) - (5.T,S) are derived from the predicates of the underlying sentences in (6.T,S) - (10.T,S) respectively.

(6.T) [[poṭiyan nallavan] [poṭiyan]]
NP S NP

(6.S) [[lamǝya hon̄day] [lamǝya]]
NP S NP

'boy' 'good' 'boy'
'The boy is good' 'the boy'

(7.T) [[meeca cinnatu] [meeca]]
NP S NP

(7.S) [[meese poḍiy] [meese]]
NP S NP

'table' 'small' 'table'
'The table is small' 'the table'

(8.T) [[kaṭṭiṭam putucu] [kaṭṭiṭam]]
NP S NP

(8.S) [[goḍǝnægillǝ alut] [goḍǝnægillǝ]]
NP S NP

'building 'new' 'building'
'The building is new' 'the building'

(9.T) [[pottakam paḷacu] [pottakam]]
NP S NP

(9.S) [[potǝ paṟǝnay] [potǝ]]
NP S NP

'book' 'old' 'book'
'The book is old' 'the book'

(10.T) [[maram pericu] [maram]]
NP S NP

(10.S) [[gaha lokuy] [gaha]]
NP S NP

'tree' 'big' 'tree'
'The tree is big' 'the tree'

In the underlying sentences in (6.T) - (10.T) the adjectival predicates have the PNG markers *-van, -tu* and *-cu*. Similar to this in the underlying S sentences except (8.S) all the adjectival predicates, which contain the vowel ending adjectives have the predicate marker *-y*. The consonant ending adjective *alut* in (8.S) does not have the predicate marker. Since the PNG markers in Tamil and the predicate marker in Sinhala are surface phenomena and are derived transformationally, they do not appear in the deep structure. Hence, the deep structure configuration of (1.T) and (1.S) would be (11).

(11.T)	[	[poṭiyan		nalla	] poṭiyan]
(11.S)	NP	[S laməya		hoñdə	] ləməya]
		'boy'		'good'	'boy'

The deep structure and the derivational processes of the simple adjectives in Tamil and Sinhala are the same. To derive (1.T) and (1.S) from (11) two transformations viz., Equi-NP Deletion and Adjectivization are applied. The Equi-NP deletion deletes the co-referential NP in the embedded sentences and the adjectivization converts the adjectival predicates into adjectives. Thus, we get the surface structure (12).

(12.T)	nalla	potiyaṇ
(12.S)	hoñdə	ləməya
	'good'	'boy'

The other adjectives are also derived similarly.

7.2 Derived Adjectives

In Sinhala, there are a small number of adjectives which are derived morphologically by adding the adjectival suffixes *-vat, -vanta* and *-mat* to the adjectival bases. The following are some of the derived adjectives in Sinhala.

rasə-vat	'tasty'
prə yoojənə-vat	'useful'
danə-vat	'wealthy'
hitə-vat	'affectionate'
balə-vat	'powerful'
vaasənaa-vantə	'fortunate'
karunaa-vatə	'kind'
buddi-mat	'wise'

The above adjectives occur in the following NPs.

(13.S) *rasəvat* kææmə
'tasty' 'food'
'The tasty food'

(14.S) *prəyoojənəvat* vædə
'useful' 'work'
'The useful work'

(15.S) *danəvat* raṭə
'wealthy' 'country'
'The wealthy country'

(16.S) *hitəvat* yaaluva
'affectionate' 'friend'
'The affectionate friend'

(17.S) *baləvat* minissu
'powerful' 'people'
'The powerful people'

(18.S) *vaasənaavantə* kellə
'fortunate' 'girl'
'The fortunate girl'

(19.S) *karunaavantə* mahattəya
'kind' 'gentlemen'
'the kind gentleman'

(20.S) *buddimat* ləmə̀ya
'wise' 'boy'
'The wise boy'

The derived adjectives in Sinhala are also derived similarly as the simple adjectives are, since they do not have any auxiliaries in the deep structure as in the case of the derived adjectives in Tamil. The deep structure of the NP (13.S) would be (21.S).

(21.S) $[_{NP}[_{S}$ kæ æmə rasəvat] kæ æmə $]$
'food' 'tasty' 'food'

To derive (13.S) from (21.S) the Equi-NP Deletion deletes the co-referential NP *kæ æmə* in the embedded sentence and the Adjectivization converts the adjectival predicate into adjective and we get the surface NP (22.S)

(22.S) rasəvat kæ æmə
'the tasty food'

In Tamil, most of the adjectives are morphologically derived by adding the adjectival suffixes *-aana* and *ulla* to the quality nouns in the surface level. The following are some of the derived adjectives in Tamil.

aḻak - aana	'beautiful'
ruci-y-aana	'tasty'
ocaram-aana	'tall'
paaram-aana	'heavy'
putti-y-uḷḷa	'intelligent'
irakkam-uḷḷa	'kind'
paṇp-uḷḷa	'cultured'

The above adjectives occur in the following NPs.

(23.T) *aḻakaana* poṉṉu
'beautiful' 'bride'
'The beautiful bride'

(24.T) *ruciyaana* caappaaṭu
'tasty' 'food'
'The tasty food'

(25.T) *ocaramaana* manican
'tall' 'man'
'The tall man'

(26.T) *paaramaana* meeca
'heavy' 'table'
'The heavy table'

(27.T) *puttiyuḷḷa* puḷḷaykal
'intelligent' 'children'
'The intelligent children'

(28.T) *irakkamuḷḷa* canankaḷ
'kind' 'people'
'The kind people'

(29.T) paṇpuḷḷa manican
'cultured' 'man'
'The cultured man'

The adjectival suffixes *-aana* and *uḷḷa* in the adjectives in (23.T) - (29.T) are in fact relative participial forms of the verbs *aaku* 'become' and *uḷ* 'be' respectively. Hence, the derivational process of the above derived adjectives in Tamil is somewhat different from that of the simple adjectives in both Tamil and Sinhala and the derived adjectives in Sinhala and closely related to the process of relativization. For example, the deep structure of the NP (23.T) would be (30.T).

(30.T) [NP [S [poṇṇu 'bride' aḷaku 'beauty' aaku 'be'] poṇṇu 'bride']]

To derive (23.T) from (30.T) we have to apply the Equi-NP Deletion, Relative Participialization and the Adjectivization. The Equi-NP Deletion deletes the co-referential NP *poṇṇu* in the embedded sentence. The Relative Participialization converts the verb *aaku* into its relative participial form *aana.* Finally, the Adjectivization converts the adjectival predicate into the adjective and we get the surface structure (31.T).

(31.T) aḷakaana poṇṇu
'The beautiful bride'

The derivational processes of the other adjectives are also similar.

Thus, we find that Tamil employs the Relative Participialization rule to derive the derived adjectives while Sinhala does not employ this rule because there is no verb involvement in the process of the derivation of the Sinhala derived adjectives. Tamil and Sinhala differ in this respect.

The derived adjective and the relative clause in Tamil are very similar and they also do the same function, that is, modifying the noun which follows them. However, the adjectives and the relative clauses differ in some respects. One of the important differences between the adjectives and the relative clauses is that the relative clauses have tense significance whereas the adjectives do not have tense significance. For example, the NPs (32.T) and (33.T) with relative clauses which show past and future events respectively and which occur with time adverbials are grammatical while the NPs (34.T) and (35.T) with adjectives which occur with the same time adverbials are ungrammatical.

(32.T) *neettu* *vanta* poṇṇu
yesterday came-Pt-RP bride
'The bride who came yesterday'

(33.T) *naaḷaykku* *vaaṟa* poṇṇu
tomorrow come-Fu.RP bride
'The bride who will come tomorrow'

(34.T) * *neettu* *aḻakaana* poṇṇu
yesterday beautiful bride

(35.T) * naaḷaykku puttiyuḻḻa puḻḻaykaḷ
tomorrow intelligent children

Another distinction between the relative clauses and the adjectives is that only adjectives can occur with intensifiers and the relative clauses do not occur with intensifiers. Thus, (36.T) and (37.T) are grammatical while (38.T) and (39.T) are ungrammatical.

(36.T) *miccam* *aḻakaana* puḻḻaykaḷ
very beautiful children
'Very beautiful children'

(37.T) *miccam* *puttiyuḻḻa* puḻḻaykaḷ
very intelligent children
'Very intelligent children'

(38.T) * *miccam* *vanta* puḻḻaykaḷ
very came-RP children

(38.T) * *miccam* *poona* puḻḻaykaḷ
very went -RP children

The intensifiers are discussed in the following section.

7.3 Intensifiers

An adjective in the NP may be preceded by the intensifier in both Tamil and Sinhala. In this respect adjectives differ from all the other nominal modifiers, since the other nominal modifiers do not occur with intensifiers. The following are intensifiers in Tamil and Sinhala.

	Tamil	Sinhala	
(1)	miccam aaka	huṅgak bohomə	very
(2)	aakavum	itaamə	most/extremly

The forms in the set (2) express the higher degree of intensification than the forms in the set (1) and can be considered as superlative. See the following examples.

(40.T) *aaka* nalla poṭiyan
(40.S) *bohomə* hoñdə laməya
'very' 'good' 'boy'
'Very good boy'

(41.T) *miccam* *periya* kaṭṭaṭam
(41.S) *huṅgak* *loku* godəṇægillə
'very' 'big' 'building'
'Very big building'

(42.T) *aakavum* moocamaana veela
(42.S) *itaamə* naṟəkə vædə
'extremely bad 'work'
'Extremely bad work'

(43.T) *aakavum* aḻakaana paṭam
(43.S) *itaamə* lassənə pintuure
'most' 'beautiful' 'picture'
'The most beautiful picture'

In Sinhala, there is an intensifier suffix *-mə*[1], suffixed to the adjectives expressing the meaning 'extremely' or 'most' as the intensifier *itaamə*[2]. This type of suffixation is absent in Tamil. See the following examples.

(44.S) hoñdə-*mə* lamə̆ya
good-mə boy
'The best boy'

(45.S) loku-*mə* gadə̆rə
big - mə house
'The biggest house'

(46.S) *lassə̆nə-mə* kellə
beautiful-mə girl
'The most beautiful girl'

The Tamil equivalents of the above Sinhala NPs would be (44.T) - (46.T) respectively.

(44.T) aakavum nalla poṭiyan
'most' 'good' 'boy'
'The best boy'

(45.T) aakavum periya uuṭu
'most' 'big' 'house'
'The biggest house'

(46.T) aakavum aḻakaana poṭṭa
'most' 'beautiful' 'girl'
'The most beautiful girl'

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1. In Sinhala, the particle *-mə* also has the aggregative function as in *tunə -mə* 'all the three' and the emphatic function as in *eyaa-mə* 'he -himself'.
2. The intensifier *itaamə* and *bohomə* also have the *-mə* ending. However, *boho* and *itaa* do not occur without *-mə* as intensifiers.

The superlative degree is also expressed by reduplication of adjectives in Sinhala and the reduplicative adjectives would be in the formula *Adj + mə + Adj.* See the following examples.

(47.S) *loku-mə* *loku* gahə
big-*mə* big tree
'The biggest tree'

(48.S) *podi-mə* *podi* orloosuvə
small-mə small watch
'The smallest watch'

(49.S) *ratu-mə* *ratu* malə
rad-mə read flower
'The reddest flower'

(50.S) *alut-mə* *alut* kamisə
new-mə new shirt
'The newest shirt'

Similarly, in Tamil also the superlative degree can be expressed by partially reduplicated adjectives. However, this type of reduplication is possible only with a few adjectives like *periya* 'big', *ciriya* 'small' *civanta* 'red' *putiya* 'new', etc. Thus, the Nps (47.S) - (50.S) have the following Tamil equivalents (47.T) - (50.T) respectively.

(47.T) pennam periya maram
'biggest' 'tree'
'The biggest tree'

(48.T) cinnan ciriya manikkuuṭu
'smallest' 'watch'
'The smallest watch'

(49.T) cekkac civanta puu
'reddest' 'flower'
'The reddest flower'

(50.T) puttam putiya caṭṭa
'newest' 'shirt'
'The newest shirt'

Thus, in Sinhala we find three different ways of expressing superlative degree. The first one is using the intensifer *itaamə;* the second one is using the intensifier suffix *-mə;* and the third one is using reduplication as in the following,

(51.S) *itaamə* hoṉdə
(51.Sa) hoṉdəmə
(51.Sb) hoṉdəmə hoṉdə
'the best'

and all of them are productive in Sinhala. But in Tamil we find two ways of expressing superlative degree. One is by using the intensifer *aakavum* and the other by reduplicating the adjective concerned. However, only the first one is productive in Tamil.

The complete reduplication of adjectives is also found in both Tamil and Sinhala and these reduplicative adjectives only occur with plural nouns. See the following NPs.

(52.T) *periya* *periya* uuṭukaḷ
(52.S) *loku* *loku* gevəl
'big' 'big' 'houses'
'Big houses'

(53.T) *cinnac* *cinna* katiraykaḷ
(53.S) *poḍi* *poḍi* puṭu
'small' 'small' 'chairs'
'Small chairs'

(54.T) *nalla* *nalla* pottakankaḷ
(54.S) *hōndə* *hōndə* pot
'good' 'good' 'books'
'Good books'

The reduplicative adjectives in (52.T,S) - (54.T,S) do not show intensification. However, they can express different shades of meanings. For example, in the following sentences they are selective in meaning.

(55.T) antak kaṭayila *nalla nalla caar̲ikaḷ*vaankalaam
(55.S) ar̲ə kaḍeŋ hoñdə hoñdə saar̲i gannəpuluvan
that shop-Loc good good sarees buy can
'One can buy good varieties of sarees in that shop'

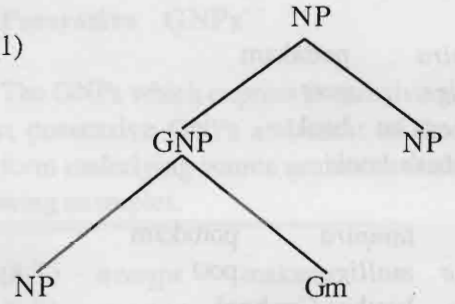
(56.T) naan *periya periya teenkaaykaḷa* paattu vaankinan
(56.S) mamə loku loku polgeḍi toorəla gatta
I big big coconuts-Acc selected bought
'I selected and bought big varieties of coconuts'

CHAPTER 8

GENITIVE NOUN PHRASES IN TAMIL AND SINHALA

A genitive noun phrase (GNP) is an NP which is marked by the genitive marker (Gm) and functions as a modifier of the head NP. Thus, an NP which contains a GNP as a modifer has the following surface configuration.

(1)

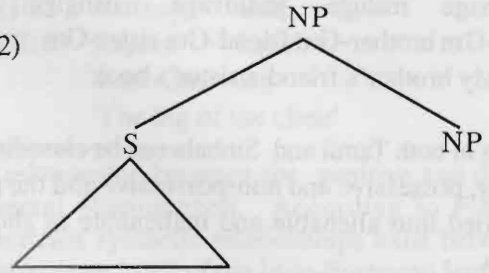


All the GNPs are derived from the sentences embedded in the NPs in the deep structure. Hence, the PS rule,

NP → S NP

is capable of acounting for the GNPs too. Thus, the deep structure configuration of the NP with GNP as its modifier would be (2).

(2)



In Tamil, the GNPs are marked by the genitive marker *-ṭa, -ra* and *-ṟa* which are phonologically conditioned and in sinhala they are marked by *-ge, -ee, -e,* and *-∅* which are partly morphologically and partly phonologically conditioned. For example, the suffix *- ge* only occur with animate nouns and others occur with inanimate nouns and their occurrences are phonologically conditioned. However, the first person plural pronoun *api* 'we' takes the suffix *-ee* and the genitive form of *api* is *apee* 'our'.

In both Tamil and Sinhala, a GNP can be the head NP of another GNP as shown in the following examples.

(3.T) *tampira* pottakam
(3.S) *mallige* potə
brother-Gm book
'Brother's book'

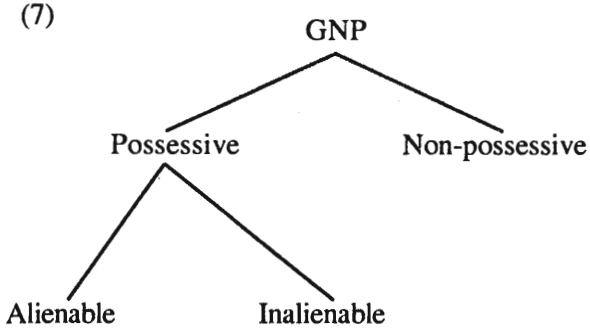
(4.T) *enṭa* *tampira* pottakam
(4.S) *mage* *mallige* potə
I-Gm brother-Gm book
'My brother`s book'

(5.T) *enṭa* *tampira* *kuuṭṭaaḷira* pottakam
(5.S) *mage* *mallige* *yaaluvage* potə
I-Gm brother-Gm friend-Gm book
'My brother's friend's book'

(6.T) *enṭa* *tampira* *kuuṭṭaaḷira* *tankaccira* pottakam
(6.S) mage mallige yaaluvage nañgige potə
I-Gm brother-Gm friend-Gm sister-Gm book
'My brother`s friend`s sister`s book'

The GNPs in both Tamil and Sinhala can be classified into two sub-groups namely, possessive and non-possessive and the possessive are further classified into alienable and inalienable as shown in the following diagram.

(7)



8.1 Possessive GNPs`

The GNPs which express possessive meaning come under the sub-class possessive GNPs and most of the possessive GNPs are derived form underlying source sentences with dative NPs[1]. Consider the following examples.

(8.T) *avaṇṭa* makan
(8.S) *eyaage* putaa
he-Gm son
'His son'

(9.T) *kamaalṟa* caṭṭa
(9.S) *kamaalge* kamisə
kamal-Gm shirt
'kamal's shirt'

(10.T) *katiraṭa* kaal
(10.S) *puṭuve* kakulə
chair-Gm. leg
'The leg of the chair'

1. The relationship between the genitive and dative seems to be a universal phenomenon. According to Fillmore (1968 . 61) "significant syntactic relationships exist between the dative and genitive cases in all of the Indo-European languages".

The underlying source sentences of the GNPs in (8.T,S) - (10.T,S) would be (11.T,S) - (13.T,S) respectively.

(11.T)	avanukku	oru	makan	irukkiṟaan
(11.S)	eyaṭə		putek	innəva
	he-Dat	a	son	is
	'He has a son'			

(12.T)	kamaalukku	oru	caṭṭa	irukku
(12.S)	kamaalṭə	kamisək	tiyənəva	
	kamal-Dat	a shirt	is	
	'kamal has a shirt'			

(13.T)	katiraykku	kaal	irukku
(13.S)	puṭuvəṭə	kakulək	tiyənəva
	chair-Dat	a leg	is
	'The chair has a leg'		

Hence, the deep structure of (8.T,S) - (10.T,S) would be (14) - (16) respectively.

(14.T)	[	[	makan	avan	ukku	irukkiṟan	] makan]
(14.S)	NP	S	putaa	eyaa	ṭə	innəva	] putaa]
			son	he	Dat	is	son

(15.T.)	[	[	caṭṭa	kamaal	ukku	irukku	] caṭṭa]
(15.S)	NP	S	kamisə	kamaal	ṭə	tiyənəva	] kamisə]
			shirt	kamal	Dat	is	shirt

(16.T)	[	[	kaal	katiray	kku	irukku	] kaal]
(16.S)	NP	S	kakulə	puṭuvə	ṭə	tiyənəva	] kakulə]
			leg	chair	Dat	is	leg

To derive (8.T) and (8.S) from (14) we have to apply a few transformations. First we apply the Verb Deletion rule which deletes the verbs *irukkiṟaan* and *innəva* of the embedded sentences. This rule roughly would be in the following form.

T. Verb Deletion

SD : $[_{NP}\ [_{S}\ X - Vb\ ]\ -\ NP\ ]$ $\Rightarrow$

1 2 3

SC : 1 3

Condition :

3 is the head of the NP.

Secondly, we apply the Equi-NP Deletion rule which deletes the co-referential NPs *makan* and *putaa* in the embedded sentences in (14.T) and (14.S) respectively. Finally, we apply the Genitivization rule which substitutes the dative case marker by the genitive marker and forms the GNP. This rule would be in the following form.

T. Genitivization

SD : $[_{NP}\ [_{N}\ NP\ (case)]_{1\ 2}\ -\ NP_{3}\ ]$ $\Rightarrow$

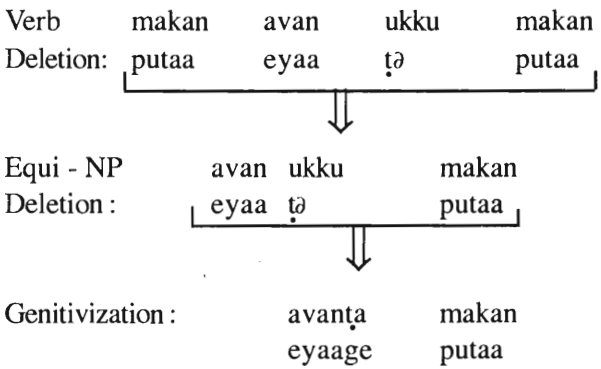
SC : 1 + Gm 3

In the above rule the case marker is given in parenthesis to account for the derivation of the non-possessive GNPs too. Most of the nonpossessive GNPs do not have a case marker in their underlying NPs.

The derivation of the NPs (8.T) and (8.S) can be illustrated as follows. The deep structure (14) is repeated here in (17).

(17.T) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}$ makan avan ukku irukkiṟaan] makan $]$

(17.S) $[_{NP}\ [_{S}$ putaa eyaa ṭə innəva] $]$



After genitivization we get the surface NP(18)

(18.T) avanṭa makan
(18.S) eyaage putaa
his son

8.2 Inalienable Possessive GNPs

The possessive GNPs which express concepts which are 'inherently relational' (Fillmore, 1968 :61), are called inalienable possessive GNPs and they express various types of inherent relationships between the possessor and the possessed nouns. These relationships can be classified as part-whole relation, kinship relation, quality relation and locative relation. A few examples are given below.

8.2.1 part-whole relation

(19.T) enṭa kay
(19.S) *mage* atə
I-Gm hand
'My hand'

(20.T) *naayira* vaal
(20.S) *ballage* valgəyə
dog-Gm tail
'The dog's tail'

(21.T) *tampira* mokam
(21.S) *mallige* muunə
y. brother-Gm face
'Younger brother`s face'

8.2.2 Kinship relation

(22.T) *enkaṭa* vaapaa
(22.S) *epee* taatta
'we-Gm father
'Our father'

(23.T) *avanṭa* tankacci
(23.S) *eyaage* nāṅgi
he-Gm y.Sister
'His younger sister'

(24.T) *maamira* makaḷ
(24.S) *næñdage* duvə
aunt-Gm daughter
'Aunt's daughter'

8.2.3 Quality relation

Quality relation includes physical, mental and other natural characteristics.

(25.T) *avaḷra* aḷaku
(25.S) *eyaage* lassənə
she-Gm beauty
'Her beauty'

(26.T) *enṭa* ocaram
(26.S) *mage* usə
I-Gm height
'My height'

(27.T) *puuṭa* maṇam
(27.S) *malee* suvə̄ndə
flower-GM fragrence
'The fragrance of the flower'

(28.T) *sunilṛa* kuṇam
(28.S) *sunilge* gatigunə
sunil-Gm quality
'Sunil's quality'

8.2.4 Locative relation

(29.T) *kaṭara* pin pakkam
(29.S) *kaḍee* piṭə pættə
shop-Gm back side
'The backside of the shop'

(30.T) *enṭa* eṭatu pakkam
(30.S) *mage* vampættə
I-Gm left side
'My left side'

(31.T) *cantiraṇṭa* matta pakkam
(31.S) hə̄ndee anit pættə
moon-Gm other side
'The other side of the moon'

8.3 Alienable Possessive GNPs

The possessive GNPs which express non-inherent relationships between the possessor and the possessed nouns are called alienable possessive GNPs and they express ownership and various social relationships. A few examples are given below.

8.3.1 Ownership relation

(32.T) *enṭa* pottakam
(32.S) *mage* potə
I-Gm book
'My book'

(33.T) *enkaṭa* vayal
(33.S) *apee* kumbuṟə
we-Gm paddy field
'Our paddy field'

(34.T) *maamaaṭa* kaaṟ
(34.S) *maamage* kaaṟekə
uncle-Gm car
'Uncle's car'

8.3.2 Social relations

(35.T) *enkaṭa* aaciriyar
(35.S) *apee* guṟuvəṟəya
we-Gm teacher
'Our teacher'

(36.T) *kamaalṟa* kuuṭṭaaḷi
(36.S) *kamaalge* yaaluva
kamal-Gm friend
'Kamal's friend'

(37.T) *avanṭa* talayvar
(37.S) *eyaage* naayəkəya
he-Gm leader
'His leader'

8.4 Non-Possessive GNPs

The non-possessive GNPs do not express possessive relationship between the genitive modifier and the head noun, whereas they show various deep case relationships like agent, experiencer, source, etc. Consider the following NPs and their underlying source sentences.

(38.T) *avaḷṟa* cirippu
(38.S) *eyaage* hinaavə
she-Gm laughter
'Her laughter'

(39.T) *kamaalṟa* kaṭitam
(39.S) *kamaalge* liyumə
kamal-Gm letter
'Kamal's letter'

(40.T) *avaṇṭa* kantoor
(40.S) *eyaage* kantooruvə
he-Gm office
'His office'

(41.T) *enṭa* tukkam
(41.S) *mage* dukə
I-Gm suffering
'My suffering'

(42.T) *cāntiraṇṭa* veḷiccam
(42.S) *hāndee* eliyə
moon-Gm light
'Light of the moon'

The underlying source sentences of the GNPs in (38.T,S) - (42.T,S) would be (43.T,S) - (47.T,S) respectively,

(43.T) aval̤ cirittaal̤
(43.S) eyaa hinaauna
she laughed
'She laughed'

(44.T) kamaal kaṭitam eḷutinaan
(44.S) kamal liyumə livva
kamal letter wrote
'Kamal wrote the letter

(45.T) avan kantoo̲rila veela ceyyi̲raan
(45.S) eyaa kantoo̲ruve væḍə kə̲ṟənəva
he office-Loc work doing
'He works in the office'

(46.T) naan tukkappa̲rran
(46.S) mamə dukvindiñəva
I suffering
'I am suffering'

(47.T) veliccam cantiranila̲runtu varukutu
(47.S) eliyə hān̄den enəva
light moon-from comes
'The light comes from the moon'

The derivation of the nonpossessive GNPs is similar to the derivation of possessive GNPs. However, in some cases it is not necessary to apply all the transformational rules which are necessary for deriving the possessive GNPs. For example, to derive the NPs (38.T) and (38.S) from the deep structure (48) we have to apply only two rules namely, Verb Deletion and Genitivization.

(48.T) [[aval̤ cirittaal̤] cirippu]
(48.S) [[ayaa hinaauna] hinaavə]
NP S 'she' 'laughed' 'laughter'

⇩

Verb Deletion: aval cirippu
eyaa hinaavə

⇓

Genitivization: avalra cirippu
eyaage hinaavə

The NPs (41.T) and (41.S) are also derived similarly. However, the NPs (38.T) and (38.S) can also be derived from the underlying sentences (49.T) and (49.S) respectively in which there are cognate object NPs.

(49.T) aval oru cirippu cirittaal
(49.S) eyaa hinaavak hinaauna
she a laughter laughed
'She laughed a laughter'

In this case we have to apply Equi-NP deletion too. The alternative deep structure for (38.T) and (38.S) would be (50).

(50.T) [[aval oru cirippu cirittaal] cirippu]
(50.S) NP S [eyaa hinaavak hinaauna] hinaavə
she a laughter laughed laughter

⇓

Verb Deletion: aval oru cirippu cirippu
eyaa hinaavak hinaavə

⇓

Equi-NP Deletion: aval cirippu
eyaa hinaavə

⇓

Genitivization: avalra cirippu
eyaage hinaavə

The NPs (39.T,S) and (40.T,S) are also derived similarly. The underlying NPs of the GNPs in (42.T) and (42.S) have the ablative case markers which indicate the source. The deep structure and the derivational processes of the NPs (42.T) and(42.S) are illustrated in (51)

8.5 Ambiguity in GNPs

Certain genitive constructions in both Tamil and Sinhala are ambiguous in their meanings. See the following NPs.

(52.T) *enṭa* pottakam
(52.S) *mage* potə
I-Gm book
'My book'

(53.T) avanṭa kaṭitam
(53.S) *eyaage* liyumə
he-Gm letter
'His letter'

The NPs (52.T) and (52.S) can be interpreted either as (54.T,S) or (55.T,S).

(54.T)	*enakku*	*irukkiṟa*	pottakam
(54.S)	*maṭə*	*tiyenə*	potə
	I-Dat	have+RP	book
	'The book that I have'		

(55.T)	*naan*	*eḷutina*	pottakam
(55.S)	*mamə*	*liyəpu*	potə
	I	wrote+RP	book
	'The book which I wrote'		

Hence, they have two different deep structures (56) and (57) respectively.

(56.T)	[	[enakku	pottakam	irukku]	pottakam]
(56.S)	[S	[maṭə	potə	tiyenəva]	potə]
NP		'I-Dat'	'book'	'have'	'book'
		'I have book' 'book'			

(57.T)	[	[naan	pottakam	eḷutinan]	pottakam]
(57.S)	[S	[mamə	potə	livva]	potə]
NP		'I'	'book'	'wrote'	'book'
		'I wrote the book' 'the book'			

According to the deep structure (56) the GNPs in (52.T) and (52.S) are alienable possessive GNPs. According to the deep structure (57) they are nonpossessive GNPs.

The NPS (53.T) and (53.S) can be interpreted either as in (58.T,S) or (59.T,S).

(58.T)	avan	eḷutina	kaṭitam
(58.S)	eyaa	liyəpu	liyumə
	he	wrote+RP	letter
	'The letter which he wrote'		

(59.T) *avanukku vanta* kaṭitam
(59.S) *eyaaṭə aapu* liyumə
he-Dat came+RP letter
'The letter which he got'

Thus, the NPs (53.T) and (53.S) have two defferent deep structures as in (60) and (61) respectively.

(60.T) [[avan kaṭitam eḷutinaan] kaṭitam]
(60.S) [[eyaa liyumə livva] liyumə]
NP [S he letter wrote letter]
'He wrote the letter' 'the letter'

(61.T) [[avanukku kaṭitam vantatu] kaṭitam]
(61.S) [[eyaaṭə liyumə aava] liyumə]
NP [S 'he-Dat' 'letter' 'came' 'letter']
'He got the letter' 'the letter'

According to the deep structures (60) and (61) the GNPs *avaṇṭa* and *eyaage* are nonpossessive. However, they have different deep case relations. In (60) the underlying NPs are agents, whereas in (61) the underlying NPs are benefactive goals.

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This book, *A Contrastive Grammar of Tamil and Sinhala Noun Phrase* is the first and so far the only attempt to study the syntax of Tamil and Sinhala utilizing the principles of Contrastive linguistics and the Transformational model. This study systematically brings out the striking syntactic similarities and differences between these languages and gives some new insight into their linguistic affinities.

All those interested in language and linguistics, specifically those who study Tamil and Sinhala syntax will find this book very useful. This book will also be practically helpful to those who are engaged in teaching Tamil and Sinhala as second languages and to those who are involved in translation between these two languages.

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